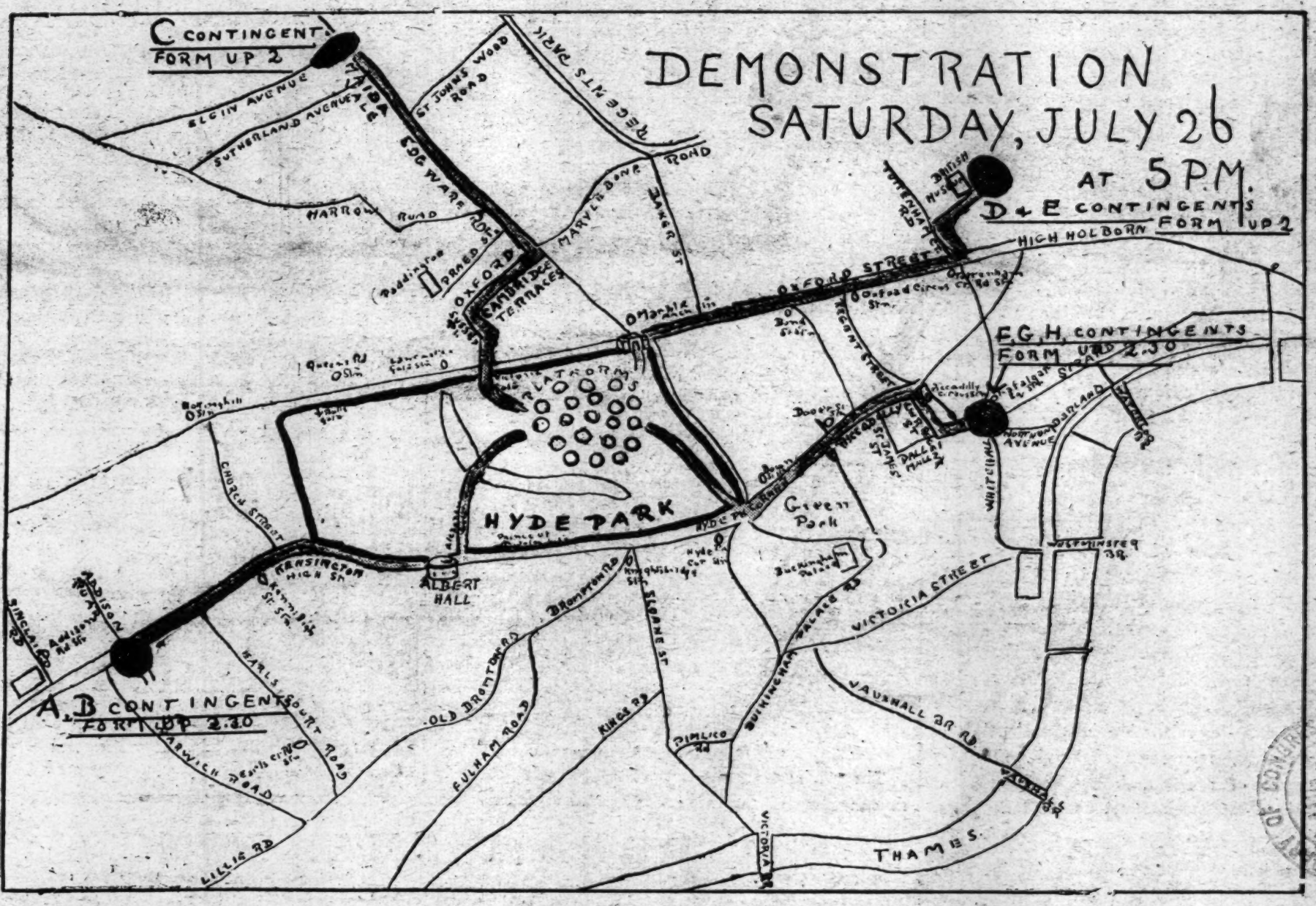
"Votes for Women," July 25, 1913. Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

VOL. VI. (New Series), No. 281. FRIDAY, JULY 25, 1913. Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free 1½d.)

TO HYDE PARK!



Map of Hyde Park and environs, showing the points of assembly and routes of the four great processions joining in the monster demonstration, at 5 p.m., in the Park to-morrow (Saturday), which is the culminating feature of the National Pilgrimage through England, organised by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

We commend to new readers of this paper the statement which we print in our leading article this week with regard to the Votes for Women movement. We tell over again what it is that women are fighting for and why they are struggling to obtain it, and we give an outline of the course of the agitation during the past eight years.

To-Morrow in Hyde Park

To-morrow, Saturday, will be an important day in the history of the movement, for on that afternoon Hyde Park will be the scene of a monster demonstration gathered together to demand the enfranchisement of women. On every side mighty processions of men and women, many of whom have marched to London as Pilgrims from remote parts of the country, will enter the park and converge on the space allotted for meetings. There from twenty platforms men and women orators representing the large group of Suffrage Societies known as the N.U.W.S.S.—the law-abiding Suffragists—will hold forth to vast audiences; and resolutions calling for the immediate enfranchisement of women will be put to the meeting.

Previous Hyde Park Demonstrations

This is not the first time that a great concourse of people has come together in Hyde Park to demand this reform. Five years ago, in June, 1908, a monster demonstration was held there by one of the militant organisations—the W.S.P.U.—at which something like half a million people were present. Writing of this meeting, the correspondent of the *Times* said:—

> The organizers of the demonstration had counted on the attendance of 250,000. This expectation was certainly fulfilled. Probably it was doubled; and it would be difficult to contradict anyone who asserted confidently that it was trebled. Like the distances and numbers of the stars, the facts were beyond the threshold of perception.

Again in 1910 a combined demonstration of all the Suffrage Societies was held in the park, at which there were as many as forty platforms, and immense enthusiasm for the cause of Votes for Women was exhibited.

The Great Pilgrimage

To-morrow's demonstration will be the culminating feature of the great Pilgrimage which for six weeks past has been marching down the great roads of England to the Metropolis. Several of these streams of Pilgrims have already coalesced. Several others will unite to-day, so that on Saturday there will only be four separate contingents converging on the Park. The map we print at the head of this page will give our readers the principal features of the demonstration, and will enable them to select points of vantage

from which to view the imposing spectacle. Further particulars will be found on page 628 of this issue.

The Scottish Deputation

On Friday last Mr. Asquith repeated to a group of distinguished visitors from Scotland the discourteous tactics with which he has on many previous occasions met deputations of Woman Suffrage Societies. Having refused to allow them to interview him, he left the house an hour before their arrival. When, therefore, the deputation arrived at Downing Street, they found no one there to see them except the Scottish Whip, Mr. Gulland, and, declining to accept him as a substitute for the Prime Minister, they proceeded to address the crowd from the steps of the official residence of the Premier.

Not Arrested

It is noteworthy, however, that no attempt was made to effect the arrest of the deputation, as we are entitled to assume from previous experience would undoubtedly have been the case had it consisted of voteless women. We have only to remind our readers of the deputation in 1908 organised by the promoters of the gigantic meeting in Hyde Park, to which we have already made reference. Not only did Mr. Asquith refuse to see them, but when they, declining to accept his refusal, went forward just as the Scottish deputation have done, they were met on their emergence from the Caxton Hall by a body of police and arrested. Subsequently refusing to give an undertaking not to repeat this alleged offence, they were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Mr. Asquith is no doubt afraid to treat Scottish electors in a similar manner lest his action should result in a revolt of Scotland from its allegiance to the Liberal Party. Nevertheless, he has once more declined to meet face to face a body representative of public opinion on the question of Woman Suffrage, or to make any explanation of the discreditable manœuvres by which he has evaded this question.

Mr. Asquith Reminded at Birmingham

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that opportunity was taken of the occasion of Mr. Asquith's visit to Birmingham last Monday to remind him that he cannot with impunity disregard the claims of women to justice. Two men gained admission to the banquet, and by one of these Mr. Asquith was questioned in the Reception Room, while the other interrupted him in the course of his speech. There was also a demonstration in the street, and when Mr. Asquith drove up, preceded and followed by police, a number of women broke the windows of the Grand Hotel, where the banquet was to take place.

Arrests and Releases

Another week of the Cat and Mouse Act in operation has intensified the growing public detestation of the measure. Mrs. Pankhurst, who had escaped the police patrol by a ruse on Saturday, was literally torn from the presence of her supporters at the London Pavilion last Monday, and carried off again to Holloway. Several arrests took place as a result. Miss Barrett was rearrested for the second time on Thursday evening at a meeting of the W.S.P.U., to be released again on Monday. Miss Mary Richardson was rearrested on Friday, having broken windows of the Home Office while out on license. Miss Annie Kenney was released for the third time on Friday, after a hunger and thirst strike of four days. Miss Kitty Marion was released for the second time on Thursday in last week, Mrs. Baines on Sunday, while Mrs. Mackworth and Mrs. Wyan were released for the first time on July 18.

Hopeless Failure of the Act

It is beginning, moreover, to be generally recognised that the Act is not merely cruel and barbarous, but also, as we predicted from its inception, an egregious failure. The *Globe* and the *Express*, from a point of view utterly hostile to the women, are engaged in demonstrating this fact beyond all question. In our own columns this week, "Onlooker," in a trenchant article, points to the same conclusion. He reminds us that the Act was passed to vindicate the majesty of the law and to compel the prisoners to serve out their sentences. It has done nothing of the kind; in fact, owing to new offences having been committed in the interval, the terms of the sentences still to be served actually exceed in many cases the original sentences inflicted.

An Incentive to Crime

But even "Onlooker's" statement does not fully expose the whole failure of the Act. The object of criminal legislation should be first and foremost to repress crime. But in the present instance it is clear that in spite of (we can almost say because of) the cruel provisions of the Act, the revolutionary deeds of a section of Suffragists continue unabated. A prisoner released on license may be able to elude the police by a disguise and either fly the country or commit a fresh offence; the one thing she cannot do is live a peaceful, law-abiding life. The Act is therefore, as has already been proved, in many cases a direct incentive to crime.

A Solemn Warning

What the Act really does is to cause an infinite amount of added suffering to those women who, for reasons that they hold to be adequate, are at open war with society. It has not quenched their spirit, because that appears to be unquenchable. Men and women, whatever view they may take of these women and their actions, are slowly coming to realise that they will either have to allow these women to die or else they must compel the Government to carry into effect a reform which has the great bulk of the country in its favour. The *Globe* and the *Express* are urgently pressing on the Cabinet the former alternative. We raise our voice in solemn warning against this wicked suggestion. We call upon all that is left of statesmanship in the Liberal Party to have done with coercion, and to act at once with justice and wisdom.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence Turned Out of the Reform Club

As a result of the part he has played in the agitation for Woman Suffrage, Mr. Pethick Lawrence has been turned out of the Reform Club, of which he had been a member for nearly twenty years. By a rule of the club a man ceases to be a member on being adjudicated a bankrupt, but it is specifically stated in the rule that the Committee, after considering the circumstances, have the power to reinstate him. It will be remembered that as a matter of principle Mr. Lawrence refused to pay the costs of the prosecution of himself and others in the Conspiracy Trial of 1912, and suffered himself to be made a bankrupt. After the money had been taken from his estate by the Official Receiver, an order was made annulling the bankruptcy. Nevertheless, the Committee of the Reform Club has refused to reinstate Mr. Lawrence as a member of the club, in spite of the fact that annulment does not merely terminate bankruptcy, but expunges it completely, so that for all ordinary purposes it is as though it had never been.

The Case of Mr. Lansbury

The special case with regard to George Lansbury is fixed for hearing on Monday next in the High Court. It will be remembered that Mr. Lansbury was called upon in the police court to show cause why he should not be bound over to keep the peace in consequence of a speech delivered at the Albert Hall. Mr. Lansbury contested the legality of the proceedings, but the magistrate ruled against him. When, however, Mr. Lansbury refused to be bound over and prepared to face imprisonment as an alternative, the magistrate consented to state a case for the High Court. In addition to Mr. Lansbury, the position of Mr. John Scurr and others depends on the decision.

River Oratory

An effective demonstration was made by the Women's Freedom League on Tuesday last from the river in front of the Terrace of the House of Commons. Miss Nina Boyle, the secretary of the League, standing on a specially chartered steam launch, addressed a large number of Members of Parliament on the subject of Woman Suffrage, drawing from them constant rounds of applause. In spite of the frantic efforts of the Terrace policemen, the boat kept its place, and it was not till twenty minutes had elapsed that a boat containing river police made its appearance. The Suffragettes' launch then rapidly made off and easily outdistanced its pursuers.

The Mental Deficiency Bill

We regret to see that the Mental Deficiency Bill is not included among the Bills put an end to by the process known as the Massacre of the Innocents. This dangerous piece of legislation is far too complicated for us to analyse in detail in these columns, but we hold very strongly to the opinion that a measure of this kind, involving the personal liberty of large numbers of children as well as of adults, ought not to be carried into law until women, who have far greater experience on such questions than men, have an equal share of expressing their opinion through the ballot-box.

Items of Interest

The important conference at the Caxton Hall on the Cat and Mouse Act, followed by the Public Meeting in the Kingsway Hall, is taking place on Thursday after we have gone to press. Tickets for the latter, to be held at 8 p.m, were to be obtainable at the doors.

We recommend to women to watch with vigilance developments of the proposals put forward by certain doctors and endorsed by a section of the Press with regard to new legislation for dealing with contagious diseases. In our view it is essential that women must become voters before such a question can safely be handled.

In view of the special value of this issue for purposes of propaganda, readers are invited to purchase extra copies for distribution among their friends.

DREAM SHADOWS

An Allegory

By F. W. S. Bloxham

Once I was told of a wonderful land of rare delights, the entrance to which was through beautiful golden gates. There soft breezes blew, sweet scents filled the air, birds sang, murmuring brooks crooned a lullaby, and all things breathed peace, kissed by the warm beams of the sun they loved. No restless yearnings, no burning desires were to be found there, for such disturbing elements could not enter through those golden gates whose gleaming portals opened only to mortals who know nothing of such feelings.

Who passed through then into that mystic land, do you ask? Well, listen, and you shall hear. There were mites of children in whose wonder-filled eyes no shadows of doubt or distress were visible, who played with the sunbeams and paddled in the stream, conscious only of the joy of living. Then there were older children, too, mortals who had somehow managed to remain in the enchanted land of childhood, lulled into that sense of security which a sheltered life brings with it. But the wonder had faded from their eyes, and a dull dreaminess was there instead. Still, for them too, the soft breezes blew, the air was fragrant with flowers, the stream murmured its lullaby, the birds sang, for were they not safe within the golden gates of Sheltered Womanhood, where no restless yearnings troubled them, no harsh cares disturbed the even tenour of their lives. But for all that they were asleep!

Then one day a strange thing happened. One of the sleepers awoke. And lo! the golden gates had crumbled to dust, and the whole landscape was dark, while the air was filled with ear-splitting sounds of war and tumult. And the woman moaned in her distress: "Oh! woe is me, for I am all alone, and this is hell!"

But a voice cried: "Courage, up and fight, for this is life, and you are a warrior whose cause is Justice and Purity, whose foe is Tyranny and Lust. You are not alone, for the battle is the Lord's, and Victory is assured." Then the woman arose, terrible and grand in her new-found strength, and soon she found herself surrounded by an evergrowing army of women—warriors, against whose ranks the unseen enemy pressed in vain; for though the fight waxed hot and the foe seemed invincible, yet every soldier in that gallant band who fell in the fray, left behind her a halo of light that illumined the path for those who hurried forward to fill up the gap. And as the Light spread, lo! the darkness vanished and the enemy with it, until at last the victorious warriors—now seen to be a mighty host of men and women—filled the place where once the fight had been.

And she who had been chosen to lead the army on to victory, forgot how the fight began, forgot the loneliness, the darkness and despair, remembering only the glorious message that had come to her, and nerved her to face the foe, endowing her with superhuman strength, because like Galahad of old her heart was pure. And the land of rare delights, that sensuous paradise she knew to be a Lie, for beauty, truth, and purity are of the spirit not of the senses, and true happiness comes not to sense-bound dreamers but to those who awake to the call that bids them go forth to do battle, each in his own way, for the cause of Justice and Purity.

OBSTINACY OF MR. ASQUITH

Refusal to see Scottish Deputation—Speeches from the Premier's Doorstep—Scotsmen Return Indignant

One of the most interesting events of the past week was the deputation of Scottish representative men—some forty in number—who were seeking an interview with Mr. Asquith to lay before him the protests against the Cat and Mouse Act adopted at a number of large public gatherings in Scotland, and the demand made by the same meetings that the Government should proceed to the immediate enfranchisement of women. This deputation contained Provosts, ex-Provosts, Baillies, Councillors, J.P.'s, ministers, barristers and solicitors, teachers, and other representative persons.

The organisation of the deputation had been undertaken by the Actresses' Franchise League and the Men's League for Women's Suffrage. To the enthusiasm and devotion of Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett was due the success of the meetings in Scotland, and the efficiency with which the arrangements for the deputation were carried through. It is evident from the Scottish Press that the whole campaign was to them both surprising and impressive.

At Downing Street

Early on Friday morning the members of the deputation arrived in London, and were met by Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett and officers of the Men's League. After breakfasting at Euston, they proceeded to the offices of the National Political League, where a short meeting was held and addressed by George Lansbury, Mrs. Sennett, and C. Lapworth. Ten members were then selected to wait upon the Premier. From Glasgow: Bailie Alston, J.P., Provost Perry, Dr. A. Wilson, J. M. Scrymgeour, M.A., and W. Thomson, B.A. From Edinburgh: J. Wilson Maclaren, Councillor Crawford, Bailie Murray, W. Cuthbertson, J.P., Councillor Barrie, and Alex. Orr, secretary to the deputation.

On arrival at Downing Street, the deputation was heartily cheered by the members of the public gathered in Whitehall. Downing Street had been cleared, and was held by a cordon of police, through which the deputation passed, and the ten representatives were at once admitted to the Premier's house. Here they were received by Mr. Gulland, the Scottish Whip, and one of Mr. Asquith's secretaries. The conversation was brief, but pointed. The deputation insisted that they should see Mr. Asquith, but were told that they could not possibly do so. (As a matter of fact, Mr. Asquith had driven away from Downing Street about 10.30.) The representatives were invited to leave written statements of what they wanted to say, and these would receive, &c., &c. This they declined to do, as they considered such a proceeding mere waste of time. After making an emphatic protest against this discourteous treatment of a body of public men, they left in disgust, and a short meeting was held in front of the house, Bailie Alston, Councillor Crawford, and the Rev. C. Burton, Episcopal Minister of Girvan and Stranraer, addressing the body of the deputation.

Bailie Alston said that everyone of them knew the rising feeling in Scotland on the question of the Cat and Mouse Bill, and no doubt the Government would realise it at the next General Election.

The Rev. Mr. Burton said that not only in Scottish towns, but in the country parishes, the abhorrence of the Cat and Mouse persecutions were turning people against the Government by the hundred and the thousand.

The deputation then retired, and after a brief consultation of the leaders at the Men's League offices, reassembled for an early lunch with Lady Cowdray at Carlton House Terrace.

What Mr. Asquith Refused to Hear

The speeches that the delegates intended to make to Mr. Asquith have been printed and circulated; that of Bailie Alston, J.P., gives a terse, clear statement of the views the delegates intended to express to the Prime Minister. It is as follows:—

"We are here to-day to urge a view of the question on Women's Suffrage that is widely held by the people who make up the Local governing bodies in Scotland.

"The question has now reached a stage when we can no longer stand aside and allow matters to take their course.

"The view we urge is this, the local authorities are finding it more difficult to carry on local government and maintain efficient administration of the Law in face of the present agitation and lawless acts that are taking place all over the country.

"We are not here to excuse, blame, or defend those acts, but many of us hold that the Government, in their Individual and Collective Capacity, by resisting this just demand, are more responsible for these outrages that have taken place all over the country than the persons who actually committed such acts.

"We, therefore, urge upon the Government to put an end to the present unsatisfactory state of affairs by granting a reform at least thirty years overdue, and which at least two-thirds of the people are anxious to see on the Statute Book."

The other members intended to proceed along much the same lines. Councillor Crawford wished to refresh Mr. Asquith's memory as to what happened in Ireland before Gladstone's time, and to ask him to give effect to his own famous remark that "the will of the people must prevail." Mr. W. Cuthbertson, J.P., and Mr. Wilson M'Laren wanted to urge on the Prime Minister that the time was now rife for the reform, as did also Mr. Alexander Orr.

Indignation at the House

In the afternoon they waited on Mr. G. N. Barnes at the House of Commons, and were taken by him to Committee Room 14, where they found Mr. H. G. Chancellor, with Messrs. C. E. Price, Mackinder, McCallum Scott, Sir William P. Beale, and other Scottish M.P.s, and before these the spokesmen laid their case.

The proceedings which followed were a revelation to many members of the deputation, for Liberal, Conservative, and Labour M.P.'s alike displayed such an incapacity for the ordinary processes of reasoning that one after another of the visitors rose and made indignant protests against what seemed to them deliberate misrepresentations both of the facts at issue and their own protests. The M.P.'s, unconscious—like all people who have acquired the habit of arguing in a circle—of any deliberate misrepresentation, were very indignant at the heckling to which they were subjected, and Mr. Mackinder threatened that they would all withdraw from the room.

A fresh storm arose when hon. members—forgetting that they were not in the House—began giggling over the description of the operations under the Cat and Mouse Act. This brought several of the Scottish visitors to their feet in bitter protest, and for the moment sobered the M.P.'s. Mr. Chancellor, the only Member present who had won the respect of the delegates, made a tactful attempt to restore peace, which was, however, at once rendered futile by Mr. Barnes. One sturdy Scot thereupon rose abruptly, and, clapping his hat on his head, said, "You're not honest—you're a lot of Parliamentary frauds," and with that walked out. His fellow-deputationists cheered and thumped the desks.

After that the proceedings became something of a confused give-and-take heckling, in which the hon. members hardly took the trouble to disguise their contempt for persons who could regard Parliamentary business as anything but a game played for the ulterior motives of the players.

RECEPTION TO THE SCOTSMEN

In the evening a successful reception was held by the Actresses' Franchise League and Men's League at the Knightsbridge Palace Hotel. At first to "talk and treat" was the business of the evening. Speeches came next. Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett was in the chair, and on rising was received with applause. She said that the agitation for Woman's Suffrage had dissolved itself into a fight against one man. The time had come for a change of leadership; the country was not so barren of men that it could not find one to fill Mr. Asquith's place.

She then told her audience how the deputation had been thought of and formed. It came about through the sacrifice of Emily Davison's life. (Cheers.) As Mrs. Sennett was standing in the Morpeth churchyard, a gardener said to her, "This woman has given us something to hitch on to, and, by God, we will do it." Then Mrs. Sennett thought how fine it would be to raise a deputation of men from the North.

Scotland was splendid, she declared. People had said to her, "Why didn't they (the Deputation) make a row? Well, I hope," she continued, "they will next time, for they are not going to let things rest." (Laughter and cheers.)

Mr. Laurence Housman then spoke. He said the Scotch were always said to be a poetic nation. Well, the members of this deputation had done a poetic thing. They had come all that way to meet refusal and repulsion. That was a work of imagination. It was a weakness of men to be pleased with apparent success, and very disappointed with apparent failure.

What we must all do is to show the men of this country that there is a denial waiting whatever is done. We are fighting a great non-party fight against party organisation. Party is to-day barring the way to justice. Unless men are willing to threaten party we are powerless. When we threaten party Parliament will act.

Councillor Crawford, of Edinburgh, spoke next. He referred to Miss Davison's death, and asked, "Is that sacrifice of health and strength and wealth going to be of no avail? "I think," he said, "it is going to be of avail." He then went on to deal with the Deputation's experiences that morning, and also with the attitude of the Press, which, he said, was of course biassed and unfair. He only hoped that Mr. Asquith was feeling half as uncomfortable as Mr. Gulland had looked when he received them that morning.

Mr. Crawford spoke of the large numbers of miners who were in sympathy with the women's cause, and said that if the miners' group in East Fife would tell their member that it must be right-about turn, then Mr. Asquith would have to seek a new seat, or follow the example of the American who changed his views to suit his audience.

Mr. W. Cuthbertson, J.P., said the average woman was much superior to the average man, and especially so in the lower strata of life. It was incredible that men like Mr. Asquith should not see that Women's Suffrage was bound to come, and that to stop it was impossible. It was like trying to sweep back the Atlantic with a broom.

Mrs. Finlayson Gauld, a Scotswoman, said a few words in a splendid, inspiriting way that made her audience feel that they must be up and doing. "I am glad our men have been refused," she exclaimed, "because it will let them understand how we militant women have been turned out."

Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett then put the following resolution, which was carried unanimously and enthusiastically:—

"That this meeting considers that Mr. Asquith has violated the principles of democracy, and calls upon him to resign the great office that he holds."

Afterwards the Actresses' Franchise League gave a short, and, of course, good entertainment.

IN HYDE PARK

On Sunday evening a demonstration was held in Hyde Park at six o'clock, when large audiences gathered round the platforms of the Actresses' Franchise League and Men's League. Later the Men's League arranged a second, and ultimately a third, platform, two or three members of the deputation speaking at each.

They were received with marked attention, their evident sincerity and the humour and energy of their speeches appealing strongly to the listeners. They gave humorous and indignant accounts of their adventures. (Councillor Crawford dealing with the Downing Street incident, took as his text, "The wicked flee when no man pursueth"), and they were well cheered when the announcement was made that they were going to stay over Monday and again invade the House of Commons—the "House of Bluff," as one speaker termed it. They expressed the utmost indignation at the treatment that had been accorded them, one speaker declaring that they had had the greatest possible difficulty in keeping the lid on some of the delegates, and he, for one, didn't mind when it blew off now.

At the close of the meetings questions poured in from all sides. Finally, at all the platforms resolutions were carried by overwhelming majorities, regretting the Premier's refusal to receive the deputation, condemning the Cat and Mouse Act, and calling for an immediate Government measure for the enfranchisement of women.

A FURTHER ATTEMPT

The deputation made another fruitless attempt on Monday morning to see Mr. Asquith. In the evening they were eventually received by Mr. McKinnon Wood, the Secretary for Scotland, in his private room at the House of Commons.

Bailie Murray asked for the "Cat and Mouse" Act to be repealed; Mr. McKinnon Wood declined to give a pledge. Councillor Crawford desired militants to be treated as political offenders; Mr. McKinnon Wood said he did not regard arson as a political offence.

Councillor Crawford further said that Mr. Asquith was steering the Liberal Party on to the rocks of destruction. In his part of the world the electors at the next election would vote either Unionist or Socialist rather than support the present proceedings of the Liberal Government.

On leaving, the bailies said the interview was "utterly unsatisfactory."

(The "Daily News" comment on the deputation will be found on page 633.)

With acknowledgments to "The Daily Sketch."

SCOTTISH DEPUTATION AT THE DOOR OF No. 10, DOWNING STREET.

RALLY IN HYDE PARK

Union of Law-abiding Suffragists from all over the country—Where to see the Processions—Scenes of the Pilgrimage—Amusing contribution by Anti-suffragists

In Longfellow's "Courtship of Miles Standish" there is a wonderful passage descriptive of the meeting of two rivers, whose waters rising "from distant and separate sources," and traversing each its own channel through great tracts of country, "rush together at last and one is lost in the other." By a natural and beautiful poetic imagery he compares this meeting with the union of two human lives.

A similar image is present in our minds when we think of the great reunion which is to take place to-morrow afternoon in Hyde Park. Just as a mighty ocean is fed by the waters of the great rivers which intercept its littoral on every side, so the great park in the centre of the metropolis will on Saturday receive at each gate its living stream; and just as these rivers traced back through their numerous tributaries bring down to the ocean the waters of the most distant lands, so will the living streams compounded of so many tributaries bring to the park pilgrims from the most distant parts of the British Isles.

The Last Three Days

To-day and to-morrow the converging streams of Pilgrims, on foot, on cycles, on horseback, in carriages, in motor-cars, will be crowding the great highways leading to London from Portsmouth, Reading, Oxford, Huntingdon, Cambridge, and Stratford.

During the last three days of the march Pilgrims will be entering London by slow stages, punctuated by both mid-day and evening meetings. On Thursday (yesterday) the Portsmouth-road and West-country-road Pilgrims joined hands at Richmond; the Watling Street contingent, which includes the Manchester Pilgrims, reached Uxbridge; the Great North Road contingent was at High Barnet; the East Anglians at Romford; the Kentish Pilgrims, who have travelled by a section of the ancient Pilgrims' Way, reached Blackheath; and the Brighton section, with the shortest route of all, arrived at Croydon. The earliest Pilgrims have had some six weeks' marching. To-day (Friday) the Pilgrims will hold further meetings in suburbs on their way to Kensington and Bayswater, Highbury and Tower Hill, and London will be the scene of a sort of preaching crusade of dimensions perhaps never before seen. By to-morrow morning (Saturday) the eight pilgrimage lines will have become four, and these, starting from Kensington, Maida Vale, Bloomsbury, and Trafalgar Square, will make the final processional march on Hyde Park, where a monster demonstration, with twenty platforms, will be held at five o'clock. A glance at the map which we print on the front page of this issue will give particulars of each separate procession.

To-day (Friday) the Pilgrims will enter London by the following routes:—

A.—Portsmouth Road, via Richmond, Barnes, and Hammersmith.

B.—West Country, via Kew Bridge, and as above.

C.—Watling Street, via Southall, Ealing, and Shepherd's Bush.

D.—Great North Road, via Finchley, Archway and Holloway Roads; also Golder's Green and Camden Town.

E.—East Central Counties, via Enfield, Tottenham, Seven Sisters Road, Holloway Road.

F.—East Coast, via Romford, Stratford, Bow, Whitechapel.

G.—Kentish Pilgrims, via Blackheath, Deptford, Old Kent Road, Elephant and Castle.

H.—Brighton Road, via Streatham, Brixton, Kennington Road.

On Saturday, A. B. will assemble, 2.30 p.m., at Warwick Gardens (Kensington Road, opposite Addison Road), and march, via High Street and Kensington Gore, through Alexandra Gate.

C. will assemble, 2 p.m., at Elgin Avenue (Maida Vale end), and march, via Maida Vale, Edgware Road, Oxford and Cambridge Terrace, Sussex Place, through Victoria Gate.

D. E. will assemble, 2 p.m., at Montague Place, Bloomsbury, and march, via Tottenham Court Road, Oxford Street, through Marble Arch.

F. G. H. will assemble, 2.30 p.m., at Trafalgar Square, and march, via Cockspur Street, Pall Mall, Waterloo Place, Piccadilly, and Hyde Park Corner.

In Hyde Park the platforms will be arranged in a vast circle, with a stationary banner behind and above each one, showing what group and federation of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies it represents. Amongst the many speakers will be Mrs. Henry Fawcett, Councillor Margaret Ashton, Councillor Eleanor Rathbone, Mrs. Swanwick, Mrs. Philip Snowden, Miss K. D. Courtney, Miss Margaret Robertson, Miss Marshall, Miss Royden, Miss Susan Lawrence, and Miss Sterling.

Leaving Its Mark

From all sides the Capital will be invaded by this great stream. And it will leave its mark on the country no less deep and no less lasting, although less striking to the eye, than the devastation that marks the track of an advancing flood. In every town and village through which the Pilgrims have passed they have created a new understanding of the Suffrage movement; they have brought home to country folk and town folk alike some realisation of the wide-spread demand for the enfranchisement of women; they have, in a way, presented in themselves a concrete embodiment of that demand.

From all parts of England and Wales the Pilgrims have been putting their cause and their demands before the people, and by now the speakers at the daily meetings have addressed many tens of thousands. To all a resolution has been put and explained calling on the Government to introduce a Women's Suffrage Bill. The reports from every section show that the interest roused and the crowds attracted by the Pilgrimage have surpassed the most sanguine expectations of the leaders of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. Thus at Chesterfield the audience numbered 6,000 to 7,000 people; at Burslem the great square was packed; at Mansfield the speakers addressed a Market Place described as "black with humanity"; on the Great North Road magnificent demonstrations were held at Barnsley, Rotherham, and Sheffield; at Cardiff and at Bridgwater the Pilgrims attracted enormous gatherings; at Wolverhampton there was a record meeting, an old inhabitant telling one of the Pilgrims he had never seen such a fine open-air meeting in Wolverhampton before.

While in the industrial towns the open-air meetings in the evenings have drawn thousands, the Pilgrims are no less satisfied with the effects of carrying into the rural and agricutural districts this demonstration of the reality and energy of the Suffrage movement. On the daily marches the banners, the leaflets distributed, and the personal discussions by the wayside have impressed the women's demand on cottagers and villagers in spots hitherto untouched by propaganda. All through Cornwall, for instance, phenomenal crowds assembled all along the route, and the police declared that such large crowds had never been known in Cornish towns and villages before, and from North, South, East, and West the reports all tell the same story.

The Spirit of the Pilgrimage

These modern pilgrims journey, as did the pilgrims of old, to achieve salvation. But it is no longer the hope of individual gain, of personal advantage in the world to come, that urges them on, but the thought of the common gain and the common need in the world that is. The social conscience of women has awakened, and they have come to see that their own well-being and that of those nearest and dearest to them is bound up in the well-being of all; their duty may begin at home, but it cannot end there. They know that there is a vast amount of work waiting for the workers to be set free to do it; that there are numberless wrongs crying out to be righted that only the help of women can put straight; and the goal towards which these modern day Pilgrims are marching is the right to share unfettered in the labour of reform. As Mrs. Fawcett, writing in the *Daily News*, puts it: "Primarily the pilgrimage is a solemn renewal of self-dedication to the great cause of the freeing of half humanity from the position of political serfdom. We believe this cause is one of the greatest and noblest which has ever arisen in the history of the world, and also one of the most difficult. No men have ever been placed in the position in which women stand of absolute, complete, and perpetual exclusion from all share in political power; taxed, legislated for, blundered over as we are, without any power of self-defence by means of representative institutions."

The pilgrimage is an attempt to awaken the imagination of the thoughtless, and make them realise what it means to hundreds and thousands of women to be helots in their own country—for there are some still to whom the knowledge of all that has been suffered in this cause has not yet brought this realisation. Perhaps the actual sight of the Pilgrims tramping through their midst may serve to bring it home. That was the thought of one of the Pilgrims who, when plans were being discussed, said, "I wish we could go barefoot," meaning that in that way perchance the ordinary man in the street might be made to see what the Suffrage means to the women, and what they are willing to sacrifice for it. The lesser sacrifice, seen of all, might complete what the greater one, only remotely heard of, could but half effect.

A Joyous Throng

The Pilgrims have created a favourable impression in every town and village through which they have passed. Their good temper, their enthusiasm, and their pluck have won over many who before were inclined to jeer.

The *Daily Chronicle* correspondent, writing about this, says:—

"Most certainly anyone who expected a ragged, wayworn, dishevelled band of women will have been disappointed, bitterly or agreeably, as the case may be. Whatever adventures from stones and brickbats may have happened on the way, the women Pilgrims have proved as joyously determined a little throng as ever fared between the hedgerows, even in the old days when all good folk were bent to go on pilgrimage."

The Pilgrims have covered an average of ten to sixteen miles daily. There has been no "processing" between towns, it has been, rather, a go-as-you-please affair through the countryside, as it probably was in Chaucer's time, too. The Pilgrims have gone on their way, some strolling in pairs, some in groups, some whisking ahead in friendly motors, on horseback, or on bicycles.

At the same time, it has been by no means merely a picnic, but at the back of it all has been much earnest purpose and depth of feeling. Most of the younger people have given up their holidays to this effort, and in many cases a considerable portion of their savings has gone to make it possible. Many of the Pilgrims are married women, in many cases with grown-up daughters walking with them. Some are either over or nearing sixty. In the great community of aim all dividing lines are obliterated; all classes are there; every trade and profession in the country open to women has its representatives.

The Best the Ant isCan Do

The Antis seem puzzled to know how to treat the pilgrimage; it is so widespread and the Pilgrims and their meetings are so ubiquitous that our friends the Antis know not how or where to commence operations.

At Oxford they made a bold effort. When the Pilgrims reached Summertown (about three in the afternoon) they found waiting for them outside the "Dew-Drop" Inn, a little company of sandwich-men, carrying boards bearing in large letters the legend, "Women do not want the vote." These men proceeded to attach themselves to the Pilgrims, and slouched along about 100 yards in front, the undoubted laughing stock of the occasion. All the way into Oxford their ragged and disreputable appearance afforded the finest foil possible to the trim, cheery, workmanlike band of suffragists. These made a great impression, and pleased approbation was the note all down St. Giles.

In the evening they held a no less triumphant meeting in the Town Hall, which was crammed to overflowing with young and old, with quite a remarkable proportion of country folk. When Miss Margaret Ashton spoke she was listened to with instant appreciation, and a resolution supporting the suffrage movement was carried enthusiastically with but three or four dissentients. Perhaps the Antis were satisfied with their effort of the afternoon, or perhaps even they had learnt wisdom by that experience. In either case, the sandwich-men, much to the regret of the Pilgrims, entirely failed to put in an appearance in the evening. But even Suffragists must not expect too much, and they owe gratitude to the Anti-Suffrage League for its kind addition to the afternoon's effect.

At Cambridge

The welcome to the Pilgrims at Cambridge took the form of a procession, in which the various local societies were well represented. The Cambridge Ladies' Society, the Men's League, the Women's Liberal Federation, the Cambridge University Women's Society, and others sent splendid contingents.

Precisely at six o'clock the band struck up, and the procession—gay with banners and the colours of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies—began its march through the principal streets of Cambridge. The long route was lined with thousands of spectators, some of whom in their eagerness to hear more about the Cause walked along in conversation with the marchers—a proceeding which became inconvenient in the narrower streets. Cambridge was undoubtedly very favourably impressed, and will not soon forget the procession.

Along the Great North Road

The Great North Road Pilgrims have found it an increasingly hard task to persuade the country of the justice of their Cause as they moved further south. They have succeeded in rousing several districts from their traditional stolidity, but the result has too often been a yelling mob more like wild beasts than men. It has sometimes been fortunate that the Pilgrims have often been unable to understand the remarks hurled at them by opponents. At very few of the villages, however, has active general hostility been shown, and much good work has been done by small meetings. The hustling along all the different routes has usually been confined to a few rough youths representing the hooligan element of the population, but of this form of annoyance the Great North Road Pilgrims have suffered more than their fair share during the last week.

As they entered St. Neots on Thursday Mrs. Rackham was solemnly presented with a large and beautiful lettuce. Later in the evening the vegetable produce arrived in a more unceremonious manner. The crowd refused to listen to the speakers, rushed them, overturned their temporary platform, and knocked down and trampled on several of the Pilgrims. The following morning an uninterrupted meeting was held in the market-place, that it might not be said the Pilgrims had to leave the town without getting a hearing at all.

At Baldock the Pilgrims addressed a large and appreciative audience, one listener even being so carried away as to be moved to exclaim that he preferred Miss Beaver as a speaker to Mr. Lloyd George!

At Letchworth three Pilgrims, who had bicycled on in advance, assisted in making an Anti-Suffrage meeting more entertaining and profitable than it would otherwise have been, and later on a thoroughly successful meeting was held there.

Even in the most unpleasant towns the Pilgrims have met with a good deal of admiration, and left a good impression behind them. More than once their spirits have been raised by hearing a surprised exclamation, "They're quite lidy-loike!"

Sympathy with the Pilgrims

Apart from a certain amount of ill-treatment at the hands of the crowds in some of the larger towns—an ill-treatment which became more pronounced as the Pilgrims approached London—the people have for the most part been friendly and sympathetic. The reception afforded to the Pilgrims in the villages has everywhere been most gratifying, and kindly welcome and strong interest have everywhere been manifested. Mrs. Fawcett relates how great disappointment was expressed if the Pilgrims seemed about to pass through a village without holding a meeting, and how time and again she was told, "Why, we've been waiting for you all day. You're never going on without giving us a word."

The sight of the women tramping along has appealed strongly to the working man, and the chivalry and loyalty of the Trades Unionists has all through been most noticeable. At Preston the members of the I.L.P. gave the Pilgrims a warm welcome. At Bedford the Trades Unionists insisted on forming a bodyguard in honour of the Suffrage speaker who was about to explain the Pilgrimage to an audience which had on a former occasion proved disorderly. On the road between Southport and Ormskirk a band of agricultural labourers on strike attended a meeting, and nearly to a man signed the cards signifying friendship to the cause. And from South Wales glowing reports were received of splendid receptions and the friendliness of the miners.

In things great and small sympathy has been shown. In the Pottery District gifts of crockery were contributed to replace the ware used in the caravans and broken on the route. At Stafford a Suffragist cobbler offered to mend the Pilgrims' shoes free of charge. Elsewhere the pea-pickers and mill girls left their work to hurry to the scene of the procession and cheer the Pilgrims as they passed.

One Result

Whatever the effect the Pilgrimage may have on our stony-hearted, wilfully-blind Prime Minister, one very definite and concrete result it has certainly had. Already nearly £5,000 have been added to the funds of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and it is probable that the Hyde Park Demonstration and the other London meetings will add considerably to this. The cost of the Pilgrimage itself has not been great, as all the Pilgrims have paid their own expenses, and they have been generously entertained along the way. Everywhere abundant hospitality has been offered, and in each town there have been friends of the movement to house them all.

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The Bishop of Kensington Enrolled as a Fellow

Amongst a long roll of Fellows who have signed on since we went to press last week is the name of the Right Reverend Bishop of Kensington. Not only has the Bishop of Kensington joined the Fellowship, but he has also promised to speak at our next Reunion on October 16 in the Portman Rooms. His public engagements, which arise from the extraordinarily broad range of his human sympathies, are so many that his strength is already taxed to the utmost, and in order to speak on this occasion he has had to make arrangements to put off another meeting for which he was already booked. We estimate very highly his act of goodwill and service, and we shall know how to express our appreciation when we meet him in October.

Display of Posters

Fellows are working with a downright enthusiasm that manifests itself in ways manifold. During the past week many groups have been occupied in securing a local exhibition of the weekly VOTES FOR WOMEN poster, both outside the shops of newsagents and also at railway stations. This is most important. A newsagent will exhibit a poster if a dozen customers purchase from him weekly a copy of the paper. Therefore a local worker sets steadily to work and secures a dozen subscribers. When the poster is exhibited this nucleus of regular readers quickly becomes augmented, especially if a copy of the last issue of the paper is prominently displayed on the counter of the shop—a service which a friendly newsagent is always willing to render.

The railway station poster is secured by a direct annual payment of twenty-five shillings. Local groups have been collecting this sum between them, and paying it direct to the bookstall proprietors. If they will send us the official receipt we will enter this gift to the paper as a contribution to the Fellowship Fund. Next to personal sale of the paper in public places, this is perhaps the greatest service that can be rendered to our VOTES FOR WOMEN paper.

Come and Sell the Paper

Will more Fellows come and sell the paper? We have a splendid band of women engaged in business who sell in the evening and on half-holidays. On page 634 we publish a letter from a worker which should make some of us ask ourselves whether we are doing all we can in this matter. We want morning and afternoon sellers. We want more volunteers for the day-pitches. Where are the girls and women who possess the great gift of leisure? Will they not turn it to account by devoting it to the service of this great movement. Names of volunteers should be sent to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Remember Next Saturday

Hundreds of copies of the paper must be sold in the streets of London next Saturday while the Pilgrims are passing on their way to Hyde Park. For this purpose two important propaganda articles have been written, namely, the leading article, "What It's All About," which is addressed directly to the onlookers and the inquirer, who have become confused by the suppressions and misrepresentations of the Press; and an article explaining in detail the futilities of the Cat and Mouse Act and urging the reasons and necessities for its repeal. The entire paper has been arranged this week with the view of making this issue specially effective for educational purposes, and it is hoped that Fellows will avail themselves of the opportunity and distribute extra copies with the express intention of making new readers and new converts, who will in time become fellow-workers with us in our task of winning votes for women.

PAPER-SELLING REPORT

Papers sold well last week, and thanks are due to those who gave up so much time; but it is essential to have enough sellers to keep the pitches constantly going. Thanks are also due to those sellers who have been "recruiting sergeants." If all would do this we should soon have a good army. Volunteers for an important pitch are very much needed; they are required there on Thursday mornings, 10 to 12, and Friday afternoons, and for other days and times.

Many of our sellers who are in business all day sacrifice their evenings and sell on the way home. Surely members with more leisure can spare a little time during the day. The sale of the paper is by no means over when it is a few days old—it sells right up to the next issue.

Those who have not already given in their names to sell at the Pilgrims' demonstration on the 26th inst. are requested to communicate *at once* with the Organiser, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C., in order that final arrangements may be made.

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

(To July 18, 1913)

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Miss D. Lake	0	2	0
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Lady Sybil Smith ...	0	10	0
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A NEW BOOK

LIFE AND POETRY

Mr. A. C. Benson pleads or recommends that each one of us should become a Lancelot, in so far, at least, as to win a castle within which we may retreat to refresh ourselves with the joy and gladness which should fill and furnish it. An inner fortress, built up in the mind, stored with ideas of beauty, love of art, the atmosphere of poetry; that surely were a proud possession for any man, and a dear one, a retreat to which the name of "Joyous Gard"* is aptly fitted. And yet such a possession is only for the few, only for the Lancelots; for the fight must come before the season of retreat, the knightly deeds, the rescue of the oppressed, before the resting on the laurels. And there are not many Lancelots among the men of to-day. Many there are who live lives of pleasure, sensuous, emotional, or it may be mental, within close castle walls; but walls from which they have never sallied forth, warm with chivalry, in mercy's service, or to right the wrong; whose castle, never quitted, is the Castle of Joyous Disregard. Many there are, too, whose service is the unwilling service of slavery, with no leisure in which to win or build a quiet retreat, no opportunity to collect materials for the building, no joy with which to furnish it, no intervals of respite; whose habitation, never escaped from, is a prison of apathy or a castle of despair. And the Lancelots of to-day, though their castles are built indeed and furnished, have little or no time to spend in them, since knight errantry is not the fashion of the times and knight errants, being few, are always in the fighting line.

There is nothing that is not beautiful in Mr. Benson's book, nothing that is not beautifully said; it is a fine gift from the thinker to the thoughtful. To the thoughtful only; it is no trumpet blast to awake the sleepers out of sleep, to spur the actionless to action, the thoughtless to thought, to strengthen the strenuous. Mr. Benson, in a word, is not a pioneer. The truth—for he speaks the truth—as he puts it, contravenes no convention, arouses no antagonisms, shocks no prejudices; but neither does it stimulate. Much that he has written in this book will be fresh to his admirers, profounder than their own thinking, subtler than the perceptions of their acknowledged consciousness; but there is nothing that they are not prepared to accept, nothing that although unformulated, is not, in germ at any rate, already in the cultured thought of the day. To find the unformulated presented in fine concrete form to the understanding is an unquestioned delight, and that delight Mr. Benson's readers will have; and when and if they build their castles of Joyous Gard Mr. Benson will have helped them to make the bricks.

There are other brickmakers. Bricks cannot be made without straw, and there are some now sowing the harvest from which the straw of the future will be taken. For the root of poetry is in life itself, and the artist, if he will be great, must return again and again to drink of the water of life; at the very spring, not only as it is conserved in the thoughts, however beautiful, the ideas, however noble, of other men. "The stuff that dreams are made of" is not bred of fancy alone, but of splendid deeds. There were no poets were there no heroes; and it is the knight errantry of to-day, the battling with monsters and dragons and tyranny, which makes possible the poetry of to-morrow.

G.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"The Woman Thou Gavest Me." By Hall Caine. (London: Heinemann. Price 6s.)

"A Box of Chocolates." By Annie Cecilia Oldmeadow. (London: Grant Richards. Price 1s. net.)

"The Feminist Movement." By Ethel Snowden. (London: Collins. Price 1s. net.)

* "Joyous Gard." By A. C. Benson. (John Murray. 3s. 6d.)

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Subscriptions to the Paper should be sent to The Publisher, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

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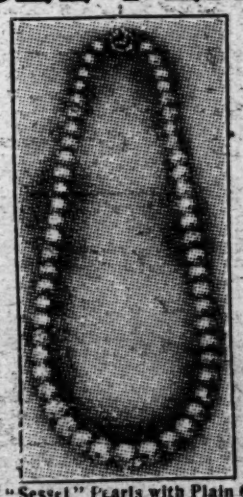

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FRIDAY, JULY 25, 1913.

WHAT IT'S ALL ABOUT

The great demonstration in Hyde Park next Saturday of law-abiding Suffragists belonging to the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies will cause many a man and many a woman to ask, "What is it all about?" The same question has been on the lips of hundreds of thousands who have been present at the countless meetings organised by different Suffrage Societies in every part of the country. The same question has been silently asked by millions during the past few months as they read in their newspapers the story of revolutionary deeds done by women, of drastic punishments inflicted, of hunger strikes in prison, of prisoners released under the Cat and Mouse Act, of rearrests and of scenes of riot and disorder.

Everybody knows the answer to this question in general terms; everybody knows that it is the demand for Votes for Women which has caused all these things to happen. But only some people know the precise measure of enfranchisement for which women are asking, or what they hope to gain by it if granted; while as to the main features of the modern history of the agitation, nearly everybody is in ignorance. It is on these points that we hope in this article to enlighten them.

In the first place, the reform for which women are asking is precisely defined by the phrase, "the removal of the sex barrier." In other words, women claim that the qualifications which entitle a person to a Parliamentary vote shall not be affected by the sex of the person concerned. If a law embodying this principle were carried to-morrow, it would enfranchise about a million and a quarter women (mostly householders paying rates and taxes), of whom about 80 per cent. belong to the working classes. When it is remembered that there are at present some seven and a half million male voters, it will be seen that this demand which is put forward unanimously by all the Suffrage Societies is at once logical, moderate and reasonable.

In reply to the second question why women think the acquisition of the Parliamentary vote so important that they are prepared to carry out on its behalf an agitation involving the sacrifice of time and money, and in some cases of liberty and health and even life itself, women give three answers. Firstly, they need the vote for the protection of themselves and other women under the law and the administration of the country. They point to the unequal treatment of women in the Insurance Act, to the exclusion of women from the better-paid posts in the Civil Service, to the sweating of women in Government employ, to the laws relating to divorce, the guardianship of children, inheritance, and many other matters as showing that a voteless section of the population does not obtain fair consideration at the hands of Parliament. In the second place, they claim that in all legislation affecting the interests of the country as a whole, and the men and women and children in it, the women's point of view is not given adequate weight. They say that the improvement of housing, the better protection of child life, the purification of food, and many other questions do not command the attention they deserve because the women who care most about these things have not the driving power of the vote to force them to the front. And they say that in consequence many thousands of little children die annually from preventable causes, and that the health and life of the country is gravely deteriorated. Lastly, they say that the Parliamentary vote is a symbol of citizenship, that the exclusion from the vote of the whole female sex is a stigma of inferiority which no glib talk about the "differing spheres of men and women" can obliterate. They claim their right to be an equal sovereign half of a sovereign people, and they refuse to accept any lesser or inferior status.

The modern history of the Woman Suffrage agitation divides itself naturally into four main periods. The first period from 1905 to the spring of 1910 was the period of early militancy, when a number of women grown tired of a patience which had lasted for forty years determined to heckle Cabinet Ministers at their meetings, to oppose Government candidates at by-elections, and to go in deputation to the Prime Minister at the House of Commons. During the whole of this period women did no violence, but great violence was done to them; they were flung out of meetings with great brutality, and the Prime Minister, refusing time after time to see their deputations, had them first knocked about by posses of police, then arrested and imprisoned on a charge of obstruction.

The second period consists of the years 1910 and 1911, when the militant women declared a truce in methods of militancy, and all Suffragists joined together to secure the passage of a Bill acceptable to all parties. The Conciliation Bill, as it was called, passed its second reading in 1910 by a majority of 110, and again in 1911 by a majority of 167; but on each occasion was blocked by the fiat of the Cabinet, which refused to give further time for its discussion, in spite of the fact that the women combined to hold larger demonstrations than had been previously held in support of any other reform, and that nearly every local body of importance petitioned Parliament in favour of the Bill. At length, Mr. Asquith gave a definite pledge for time and fair play for a similar Bill in 1912, and this promise all Suffragists accepted.

This period was brought to an end in November, 1911, by Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George, who, breaking the spirit of the pledge on which women had relied, announced the introduction of a Manhood Suffrage Bill, undertaking at the same time so to draft it that an amendment to include women could be moved. The law-abiding Suffragists accepted the new offer and worked for it. The militant women foresaw a trap, and reverted to militancy; two monster protests were made in which hundreds of women took part, extensive window breaking taking the place of a mere deputation because women were not prepared to face again the brutality to which they had been subjected before. For this demonstration several hundreds of women were arrested and imprisoned.

The last period, which is still continuing, began with the exposure of the sham of Mr. Asquith's promise. The Speaker ruled all Woman Suffrage amendments to the Manhood Suffrage Bill out of order. Mr. Asquith proceeded to substitute an entirely worthless alternative for the pledge which he had failed to keep; and the prospect of any immediately successful Parliamentary action was reduced to nil. The law-abiding Suffrage Societies who had trusted the promise were furious, and declared their intention of becoming anti-Government; while the leader of the larger militant society, abandoning the method of monster protests by increasing numbers of women, declared for frankly revolutionary courses. To this the Government have replied with coercion.

We have now explained to the new readers of this paper what it is all about. They have now to tell us what they propose to do to help us to compel the Government to listen to reason, and to grant to duly qualified women that share in the Government of the country to which they are justly entitled.

MR. McKENNA'S FAILURE

The Cat and Mouse Act Shown Up

By "Onlooker"

What has been the net result of the Cat and Mouse policy to date?

It was on April 25—exactly three months ago—the Royal Assent was given to the Prisoners' Temporary Discharge for Ill-Health (or Cat and Mouse) Bill, after the eloquent pleading of Lord Haldane had secured it a lightning passage through the House of Lords. Here was the week-end upon them, and unless their Lordships hurried up, it seemed at least half a dozen prisoners, already on the point of collapse, would have to be released unconditionally, and so get off scot free. Under the proposed Act, these "mice" could be recaught as often as necessary and made to serve out their sentence in snatches. Their Lordships, who exist to prevent hasty legislation, duly hurried up, the whole of the Committee and Third Reading stages occupying some sixty seconds. The Bill was passed, and as soon as Ministers came back from their week-end, Mr. McKenna began his releases under the new form of licence.

In point of fact, the first four prisoners released—Miss Ella Stevenson, Mr. Hugh Franklin, Miss Phyllis Brady, and Miss Millicent Dean—were not re-caught with the ease predicted, for the simple reason that the police were never able to find them again, a circumstance which applies to another half-dozen of the prisoners since released.

But what of the majority of the Suffragist captives—those with whom the Government has been at closer grips? How far with these has the purpose of the Government's Coercion Act succeeded?

To judge of that, we must realise what ends the Government could have proposed to itself as a result of this legislation. Clearly they could have had but two ends in view: (1) the avowed and decorous aim of vindicating the majesty of the law by compelling each prisoner ultimately to suffer the full term of his or her sentence, however long that might take; or alternatively (2) the unavowed and sinister aim of wearing out its political opponents by the breakdown of their spirit or the complete exhaustion of their physical powers.

It is now apparent that in neither of these aims has the Government succeeded. Indeed, in both of them it has conspicuously failed, and so far as the first of these aims is concerned, the failure must daily become more ludicrously apparent, as may be seen by a mere recital of the results to date. Whilst as to the only alternative aim, its very success, if that were possible, would but land the Government into a more difficult and dangerous position than any it has yet had to face. In the one case we have farce; in the other case all the elements of tragedy.

Such is the position in which Governors place themselves when determined to do anything rather than adopt the simple and obvious course of doing justice.

Let us, firstly, see what has been accomplished by the Act towards compelling the prisoners to serve the sentences inflicted.

Under its provisions twenty-seven prisoners have been dealt with—or twenty-six if Miss Lilian Lenton and Miss "May Dennis" be one person, as suggested. The law has failed even to get Miss Lenton, or "Miss Dennis," to trial, in each case the prisoner having to be released without bail, and thereupon disappearing.

Sentences Aggregating Over 21 Years

The convicted prisoners released under the Act received sentences totalling in the aggregate to over twenty-one years, of which, up to the present, not one year has been served between them, the average being about ten days per prisoner. Even at the rate of progress during the past three months, there are sentences of nine months each which would not be completed until 1918, 1919, or 1921, whilst Mrs. Pankhurst's sentence of three years would take until 1935. But, in point of fact, with each prisoner, every term of reincarceration gets shorter, and every term of release gets longer, which means that the arrears accumulate faster than they can be cleared off, and many of the sentences could not be served in a lifetime.

In two recent cases, it will have been noticed, the utter futility of the whole proceeding has been enhanced by the released prisoner, as soon as physically well enough to get about, committing a fresh act leading to a new trial and sentence, thus adding at each release to the arrears of the original sentence—a sort of accumulation of arrears at compound interest.

For its entanglement in this impossible position, it is significant to note that the Government receives not a scrap of sympathy from the public or the Press. The man in the street looks on in wonder or in derision. The Liberal Press maintains a kind of uneasy and shame-faced silence, and the Tory Press, having helped to egg on the Government to this futile action, can hardly conceal its delight at being able to taunt it with another administrative failure.

Meanwhile, all the elements of tragedy lie within the near future. At the time the Act was under discussion, in the issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN for April 4, the editor predicted that suffrage prisoners would in the majority of cases refuse to conform to the terms of their licence, which would mean the adoption of the following procedure:—

"A woman is arrested, convicted and sentenced. She adopts the hunger strike. After a few days, in the course of which she may or may not be forcibly fed, she is reduced to such a condition of health that the prison doctors certify that her life is in danger; she is then released and goes home, where, after careful nursing, she is restored to health. She is then rearrested, again hunger strikes; her vitality rapidly sinks, she is again released, goes home, and is once more nursed back to life, when the whole ghastly tragedy is re-enacted."

This is exactly what has happened. Indeed, it is difficult to know what else could have been expected, except by those determined to deceive themselves, and the Government has deceived itself so often with regard to matters arising from the Woman Suffrage movement, and seems so determined not to learn by experience that it may well have added in this case to its record of exploded delusions.

It has failed, then, so far either to break the spirit of its captives, or to exhaust their physical powers of resistance and endurance, and it daily becomes clearer that they are determined to continue the battle so long as body and soul can hold together.

Such a struggle between the Government and a prisoner, if the Government is determined to prolong it, can be ended only in one way—by the death of the prisoner. Is the Home Office prepared to face that? Is the Government prepared to face it?

We know that in history similar struggles have so ended. We know that in our own times, in the prisons of Russia, such struggles have so ended. But we have left the days of the Inquisition and the Star Chamber behind, and we do not live in Russia.

Let the Government take warning by the fiasco which followed on their attempts to suppress freedom of speech and freedom of the Press. Discredit of a far more serious character awaits them when the inevitable tragedy sheds all too lurid a light upon their methods of meeting an agitation for political freedom. On the other hand, they have nothing to lose with all the more responsible elements of society if they take their courage in both hands and let the world see the daring spectacle of a Liberal Government applying to one-half of the nation the greatest of the principles of Liberalism.

LIBERALISM*

This book contains a well-written statement of what Liberalism means to an English Liberal, and a plain and honest account—from the Liberal's point of view—of the work of the Liberal Party in the last 150 years. No Tory could be expected to endorse Mr. Lyon Blease's version in these pages of the principles and policy of Toryism during that same period, and the mere historian would not always accept the author's narrative of events or his verdict on certain political transactions without protest.

But though the volume is frankly partisan, it is an obviously sincere piece of work, and a good deal of thought and much wide reading have been spent over its preparation. And, if it is partisan, what of that? If we want to know what Liberalism means a Liberal is the right person to supply the information, and the tone and temper of Mr. Blease's style are admirable. This is his definition of the Liberal-minded man: One—

> who looks upon each of his fellows as of equal worth with himself. He does not assume that all men and women are of equal capacity, or equally entitled to offices and privileges. But he is always inclined to leave and to give them equal opportunity with himself for self-expression and for self-development. He assumes, as the basis of his activity, that he has no right to interfere with any other person's attempts to employ his natural powers in what he conceives to be the best way. He is unwilling to impose his judgment upon that of others, or to force them to live their lives according to his ideas rather than their own. They are never to be used by him for his own ends, but for theirs. Each is to be left to himself to work out his own salvation. . . . Upon class distinctions in society, privilege of sex, rank, wealth, and creed, he wages unceasing war. They are, in his eye, weights and impediments. To one of two individuals, not distinguishable in natural capacity, they give an advantage which is denied to the other.

Having thus equipped his Liberal with a set of high principles, Mr. Lyon Blease sets out to tell us how Liberal statesmen and politicians have fulfilled their calling since the time of George III; and makes out for them a far better case than they deserve. Of course, the Liberal—the Parliamentary Liberal, that is—of Mr. Blease's definition has no more real existence than the "economic man" of the old political economists. Once in politics, and a member of the Liberal Party, his business has been to do his best for the Party, and, incidentally, for himself and for the country. The man of clear principle is always out of place in the House of Commons, and is as much disliked by the party managers outside. Hence the failure of John Stuart Mill and the success of Palmerston, Melbourne, and many lesser men. Cobden was too honest to become a Cabinet Minister.

It is when we come to "Liberalism since 1906," and to the treatment of the Women's Suffrage movement by the Liberal Government that Mr. Blease is at his best; and, in fact, the whole book really leads up to this masterly indictment of Mr. Asquith and his servile followers. Mr. Lyon Blease knows the history of the last seven years, and has grasped the importance of the "Votes for Women" agitation. Are we not all indebted to him for many and valuable literary contributions to the cause? Writing as a Liberal, an ardent Liberal, his attack on the present office-holders is the more effective.

We hope this book will be read by all Liberal M.P.'s, candidates, and members of Liberal Associations. Amongst such it cannot be too lavishly circulated.

J. C.

* "A Short History of English Liberalism." By W. Lyon Blease. (Fisher Unwin. 10s. 6d. net).

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THE SUSPECTED SEX

GIRL (Suddenly noticing Policeman): "I fahnd it like that. I never done it, Mister; straight I never."

WILD SCENES AT THE PAVILION

Police Outwitted.—Arrest of Mrs. Pankhurst

Shortly before midnight on Saturday an astounding scene was enacted outside Mrs. Pankhurst's police-watched flat in Little Smith Street, Westminster.

Soon after eleven o'clock the suspicions of the two police watchers were aroused by the constant arrival of a number of men and women outside the mansions in Little Smith Street, a quiet thoroughfare behind the Church House, which at night is practically deserted. A little later a taxi-cab was driven up to within a few yards of the entrance, and two women got out and entered the flat. Shortly afterwards several women came out, one of whom was a heavily-veiled woman of Mrs. Pankhurst's height and appearance. She walked slowly down the steps of the building and advanced towards the waiting cab. The detectives at once approached and attempted to arrest her. Her companions drew her away, and other Suffragist sympathisers instantly appeared and struggled with the officers. Police whistles were blown, and a number of constables and scores of the general public quickly arrived. Cheers and counter cheers were given, the women did all they could to prevent the arrest, and a scene of tumult and confusion ensued.

Eventually, after the detectives had sent for assistance, the lady, holding her veil with two hands closely over her face, was placed in the taxicab, two officers accompanying her. The cab had gone several hundred yards before the Scotland Yard men succeeded in unveiling the lady, and then, to their surprise and chagrin, they found that they had been cleverly duped. The Suffragist they had in charge was not Mrs. Pankhurst.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Pankhurst herself, who had come down the steps behind the veiled lady, during the tumult walked quietly through the crowd, round into a back street, and drove away in a private car that was waiting there for her. The detectives came rushing back, police reinforcements close on their heels, only to be greeted with the ironical laughter of the waiting Suffragists, who assured them that the real Mrs. Pankhurst was gone. The police, however, declined to acknowledge their own complete discomfiture, and preferring to believe that Mrs. Pankhurst was still in the flat, continued to keep their useless vigil outside.

AT THE PAVILION

Piccadilly Circus was crowded with people long before the usual Monday afternoon Suffrage meeting was due at the Pavilion; something of an exciting nature evidently was expected. One heard that it was the Scottish bailies that were expected, and others held it was Mrs. Pankhurst. Meanwhile the usual Monday afternoon audience entered the Pavilion. The hall was crowded, and the whole atmosphere was charged with electricity.

The platform had seats in readiness for the Scottish deputation, and when they entered from the wings tremendous cheering came from all over the building, and shouts of "Bravo, Scotland!" Then the speakers came. Mrs. Mansel was in the chair. Miss Brackenbury and Mrs Flora McDonald Denison from Canada were to be the speakers as well as some of the Scottish bailies.

Police Officers Everywhere

Just before Mrs. Mansel began to address the meeting a cheer went up, and the audience became excited. Mrs. Pankhurst had come upon the scene, and almost immediately after the cheering, hissing and loud booing was heard on every side.

Police officers seemed to be everywhere. Mrs. Mansel begged the audience to be seated, and show the self-control which Mrs. Pankhurst would wish them to show. She then told the audience that Mrs. Pankhurst had been inside the building in a little room on the left, but that the police had entered it and arrested her. Mrs. Pankhurst had come to say, "Take me back to prison if you dare!" Now our answer to Mr. McKenna to her arrest must be a record collection.

It was when Mrs. Pankhurst came out of the side room into the passage in order to reach the platform that the police sprang forward and arrested her. Very few people were in that part of the hall at the moment, as the police had allowed no one to stand about, but seven or eight women and one man who were on the spot did all they could to prevent the arrest. In the struggle several people were hurt, and several arrests were made. Finally the police managed to check the disturbance, clear the passage, and shut up their captives in the little side room used by the W.S.P.U. as an office. Later they were brought out one by one and conveyed through a line of police to the back of the hall. There was some small disturbance outside as Mrs. Pankhurst was put in a cab and driven to Holloway.

Annie Kenney

While Mrs. Pankhurst and the others were being taken out, the meeting continued.

Several members of the Scottish Deputation addressed the meeting, and while one of them was speaking, Miss Annie Kenney suddenly appeared on the platform. She looked exceedingly ill and weak, and it was only too evident what her sufferings must have been. She rose to speak, and the audience begged her to sit down. But, no—she waved her hand to show that she insisted on saying what she had specially come to say, besides, "it is more defiant to stand up than to sit down." In her hand she had her licence, which she said anyone could buy if they liked. She was taking in licenses as some women took in washing.

"These licenses will be very valuable to us at elections. I shall have them printed. I shall give them away as presents—wedding presents, Christmas presents, and birthday presents." Immediately someone from the dress-circle shouted, "I'll give £5 for it," and Miss Kenney said, "I will not ask anyone to bid higher than that. I would like an American to have this licence, for then he can show it to his countrymen, and tell them how Englishmen treat their women."

During the speeches one noticed the most unusual proceedings of policemen in uniform going along passages and upstairs and downstairs, and into every corner of the building, searching for goodness only knows what. When Mrs. Mansell announced the collection, gifts of money from people representing almost every country in the world came streaming in—India, America, Canada, Switzerland, Germany, France—till £217 were collected, which at the end of the meeting was made up by someone in the audience to £300.

Mrs. Flora McDonald Denison, who had come from Budapest, paid a high tribute to Mrs. Pankhurst, and said that although she herself was a constitutional Suffragist, she must acknowledge that it was owing to the militants that the movement in Canada had spread so much.

AT MARLBOROUGH STREET

The six persons arrested on Monday appeared before Mr. Denman at Marlborough Police Court on Tuesday.

The case of Mrs. Marshall (wife of the solicitor to the W.S.P.U.) was taken first. She was charged with assault and interfering with the police.

Counsel for the defence said there was a general mêlée, and defendant was really trying to exercise a restraining influence. She would plead guilty to a technical obstruction.

Mrs. Marshall: I shall not be bound over. I shall give no undertaking of any sort.

The Magistrate imposed a fine of 20s., or fourteen days in default.

Police Vindictive

Mrs. Margaret Rogers was charged with assaulting Inspector Hayes, who said she caught hold of his shoulder strap with her left hand and struck him four or five times on the face with her right. He admitted that he might have swung Mrs. Rogers off her feet.

Mrs. Rogers, on oath, said she caught hold of Hayes's arm, whereupon he at once lost his self-control. The police were very vindictive; he was lashing out with his fists in a dreadful rage. He looked quite murderous. She did not hit him in the face.

Mrs. Verdant, of Pinner, said that Hayes caught hold of the defendant like a dog, and she looked as if she would be choked. "I should not be here to-day," she declared, "if I had not seen what I consider a most brutal assault on a woman." Mrs. Florence Norgreen, of West Kensington, corroborated.

Mrs. Rogers was fined 20s., or in default fourteen days' imprisonment.

The Misses Rock, West, and Grahame were then charged with obstruction. All three denied that they took any part in the disorder. Miss Grahame, in the box, said she never left the room until she was arrested, and the magistrate dismissed the case against her. He ordered the other two defendants to enter into their own recognisances for six months, or twenty-one days in default.

Major Fisher was next charged with assaulting Inspector Riley. Mr. Muskett said he understood that allegations would be raised against the police in this case, and so it would be convenient for the case to be adjourned for the defendant to instruct counsel. The magistrate adjourned the case until Monday, granting Major Fisher bail in his own recognisances of £25.

PROTESTS FROM ALL SIDES

Clergy Come Forward

A memorial signed by the Bishop of Lincoln and 120 of the clergy protesting against the working of the Prisoners (Temporary Discharge for Ill-health) Act has been addressed to the Prime Minister and the Home Secretary. The memorial is as follows:—

"With whatever weight belongs to our opinion as responsible citizens and men who by our calling are separated from party interests in politics, we desire to express our unqualified abhorrence of the working of the Prisoners (Temporary Discharge for Ill-health) Act. Experience has now made it plain that the continued enforcement of the Act can only result in the slowly effected death of those to whose cases it is applied; and we view with the utmost repugnance and the gravest misgiving the permission accorded to a Home Secretary, in the supposed interests of mercy, to transform a sentence of a few months' imprisonment into a capital sentence inflicted in a peculiarly odious and cruel fashion."

"It is obvious," the memorial continues, "that the strength of the resistance offered by the women lies in the intensity of their conviction of the justness of their claim." Such strength no oppression can overcome, and the memorialists demand the immediate repeal of the Act "in the interests of humanity and good government alike."

The signatories include: The Bishop of Lincoln, Henry G. Allfree, T. Bateson Allworthy, B.D., J. B. S. Barratt, J. F. Bethune Baker, D.D., W. F. Cobb, D.D., A. E. Cornibeer, John Cullen, D.D., R. B. Lawson Exton, A. E. Girdlestone, Canon Green (of Manchester), F. M. Green, B.D., C. H. Hatfield, James O. Hannay, Bernard O. F. Heywood, J. F. Heyes. W. Llewelyn Herford, E. T. Kerby, A. H. E. Lee, A. M. Mitchell, Leigh L. Orton, T. R. Price, J. E. Roberts, W. C. Roberts, Clement F. Rogers, Prebendary Rudolf, H. M. Stephenson, Cecil R. Simmons, R. T. Talbot, D.D., and Courtenay C. Weeks.

VIEW OF THE PENAL REFORM LEAGUE

The following resolution has been forwarded to the Prime Minister, the Lord Chancellor, the Home Secretary, the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, the leaders of the opposition and others:—

"The Executive Committee of the Penal Reform League, having in view the discredit brought on law by what is known popularly as the 'Cat and Mouse Act,' and the injury inflicted thereby on the cause of penal reform, hereby expresses its conviction that when a prisoner who is in prison for conscience sake brings himself by hunger-striking or similar self-discipline to a state of health which, in the opinion of the Medical Officer of the prison in which he is confined, endangers his life, then justice and humanity demand that he be released unconditionally."

THE INFAMOUS ACT

Resolutions demanding the immediate repeal of the infamous "Cat and Mouse" Act have been passed by the Bristol branch of the Women's Labour League and the Sheffield branch of the Railway Clerks' Association, the Wimbledon Trades Council, and the Wimbledon Branch of the Shop Assistants' Union.

MEETINGS OF PROTEST

On Thursday, after we had gone to Press, a conference was to be held from 10 to 5 at the Caxton Hall. Sir Edward Busk was to open the conference, and the speakers were to include Canon Simpson, Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., the Hon. Mary Lawless, Miss Margaret MacMillan, the Rev. Dr. Cobb, Mr. Mansell Moullin, Miss Lena Ashwell, Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, Miss Lumsden, LL.D., Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mr. Goulden, Miss Adeline Bourne, Miss Evelyn Sharp, and Mrs. Macdonald Dennison. In the evening a public meeting was to be held in the Kingsway Hall.

THE ALTERNATIVE TO COERCION

Mr. John Redmond, speaking at Plymouth recently, drew a touching picture of the state of affairs if the Government were ousted, the Conservatives returned, and Ireland persisted in demanding Home Rule. "There would be coercion, suppression of free speech, the filling of gaols with men who refuse to barter their liberty and their right to self-government."

Are we to believe that Mr. Redmond is really unable to see that this is exactly what is going on now? Or is the fact that it is merely women who are filling the gaols sufficient to cause him to become wilfully blind to what is going on around him? Mr. Redmond can feel deeply the wrongs of Irishmen who are denied the right to self-government, and yet it is he, and the Irish party under his leadership, who have done all in their power to deny the self-same right to Irishwomen as well as Scottishwomen and Englishwomen, and when these refused to barter their liberty, and their right to self-government, helped through the infamous Cat and Mouse Act. Women have had enough of this thinking in watertight compartments!

MISS BARRETT RE-ARRESTED

Miss Barrett, a member of the W.S.P.U. and a prisoner out on licence under the "Cat and Mouse" Act, was one of the speakers at a meeting in the Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, on Thursday night. She was greeted by much cheering, and in the course of her speech said that none had any intention of endeavouring to escape. Nothing would please the Government better than that they should make themselves scarce, but they were not going to do so.

At the close of the meeting several detectives, augmented by a strong force of City constables, were waiting outside the Memorial Hall to effect the re-arrest of Miss Barrett. When she appeared she was at once seized and conducted to a cab. By this time a large crowd of women had gathered around the police, and in an endeavour to rescue her they and several male sympathisers came into collision with the officers. In the struggle that ensued several women were badly knocked about, and blows were freely given and exchanged.

Ultimately Miss Barrett was taken in a taxi-cab to Holloway, and two other people, Miss M. Marsden and a man in the crowd, arrested for obstruction and taken to Bridewell Police Station.

Sequel at the Mansion House

On Friday, at the Mansion House, before the Lord Mayor, Mr. John Marshall Teague and Miss Mildred Marsden were charged with assaults on the police. Both defendants denied the charge.

Mr. Teague was fined 7s. 6d., with the alternative of three days' imprisonment.

Miss Marsden said she merely came out of the hall into the street to give a message to a lady. She denied assaulting the constable, and said she had no intention of creating a disturbance. She was discharged, the Lord Mayor remarking that in her case there was a possibility of mistake on the part of the police.

Miss Barrett Released

Miss Barrett was released on Monday night after four days' hunger strike.

MISS SYLVIA PANKHURST AT BROMLEY

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, who was arrested after a meeting at the Bromley Public Hall a fortnight ago, reappeared on the platform there on Monday night. She was sentenced to three months' imprisonment at Bow Street for incitement, and was released under the "Cat and Mouse" Act a few days later. Her licence expired on Monday.

The meeting was crowded, and there was great excitement. The police were present in great force, as according to the terms of Miss Pankhurst's licence she was due back in prison that night.

Miss Pankhurst appealed for a strong bodyguard to protect her against rearrest, and promised that if anybody got hurt their dependants would be looked after, as a special fund had been started for that purpose.

At the end of the meeting Miss Pankhurst left the hall surrounded by a large bodyguard, and it was at this point the scenes of confusion began which have led to conflicting statements appearing in the Press.

Someone turned on the fire hose in the hall, and women and officers were drenched. In the rush for the doors Miss Pankhurst was lost, and it was said that she had got away in a motor-car and taken refuge in a tobacco shop in the Bow Road. The place was searched, but Miss Pankhurst was not to be found.

We understand that what actually occurred was as follows: Miss Pankhurst really escaped down a side passage adjoining the hall and gained admittance to another smaller hall close at hand. The lights were extinguished, and here the escaping "mouse" remained until later in the evening, when she went quietly home.

ABSURDITY OF THE "CAT AND MOUSE" ACT

Miss May Richardson, who was released on Saturday on licence under the "Cat and Mouse" Act, appeared at the Bow Street Police Court on three charges—(1) breaking a window at the Home Office, (2) breaking a window at Cannon Row Police Station, and (3) damaging an inkstand, which she threw through the latter window.

The defendant said she committed the acts in protest against the "Cat and Mouse" Act. "If the people do not see the sin of the Act," she added, "they will see the absurdity of it. I have been given three months' hard labour, and all the hard labour I have done is breaking the window last night."

Sir John Dickinson sentenced her to one month's imprisonment with hard labour for breaking the Home Office window and fourteen days' hard labour for each of the other offences, the terms to run concurrently. "I shall do about two weeks of it," said the defendant.

REMINDING THE PRIME MINISTER

Suffrage Scenes at the Banquet to Mr. Asquith at Birmingham

Mr. Asquith was not allowed to make his visit to Birmingham on Monday without the reminders on the subject of his treatment of women to which by now he must have become almost accustomed—and this despite the special police precautions that were taken.

A large crowd gathered outside the Grand Hotel, and the police kept the people moving. About half an hour before Mr. Asquith was due to arrive two large windows at the side of the hotel were attacked simultaneously and shattered, the women who threw the stones calmly submitting to arrest. Later another window was smashed, the culprit escaping detection. At the time arranged for Mr. Asquith's arrival three fire engines dashed up, a false alarm that the hotel was on fire having been given through the exchange. The Premier's appearance was the signal for other windows to be smashed, and five more women were arrested.

Police in Front and Behind

Preceding Mr. Asquith's car was a motor driven by a policeman, and following were two cars carrying ten detectives as passengers.

It was the original intention of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce to throw open their reception to the Premier to women, and also to hold it in the Town Hall; but courage seems to have failed them, and it was actually open only to men, and held in an hotel, the very offices and shops surrounding which were in the hands of the police. No member of the general public was allowed to approach the building in which the leader of "the people's house" was speaking.

Two members of the Men's Political Union, nevertheless, were present at the banquet. Mr. Asquith had just been photographed in the reception room when one of the Suffragists stood before him and accused him, face to face, in a loud voice for two or three minutes, of torturing the women rather than give them the vote. He was then ejected by detectives, and kept in the building until late at night. At every table during the banquet this incident was discussed.

Later, when Mr. Asquith rose to make his speech, he was again loudly questioned with: "Why did he not deal justly and honestly with the women?". The second interrupter was then immediately turned out of the building.

A Personal Account

One of the men, who took it upon himself to remind Mr. Asquith of the dark things he finds it so shamefully easy to forget, sends us the following report:—

"I was fortunate enough to have procured a ticket for the dinner, and so obtained admission without difficulty. After a short while another member of the M.P.U. and myself entered the room in which we were to dine, but paused on entering because a flash-light photo was just about to be taken. That being over, I looked round at the company, only to find that my neighbour was none other than Mr. Asquith. I at once turned on him and asked him how he dared to torture women rather than give them justice. If anyone ever hurts Mr. Asquith it will be because such person has found the irritation provoked by the smile the Premier reserves for suffragists even stronger than the restraint which his silver hair naturally inspires. The incitement of the smile had no serious effect in this instance, owing to the fact that a small army of diners and detectives closed upon me and took me down to the lounge. There a high police official whose zeal had completely overcome his emotions searched me with very disappointing results.

"I was detained there for about five hours, during which time I was shown some of the missiles which had come through the hotel windows during the evening, and made the acquaintance of many officials of varying quality. In the end I was told that I must either leave Birmingham without delay or spend the night in the cells, to be charged in the morning with obtaining a ticket under false pretences. I was given to understand that, unless I could actually prove that I had not done so—which would have involved the calling of people whom I did not wish to trouble—they would manage to get me convicted. Seeing no special attraction in playing into the hands of the police, I resolved to leave the town, and was taken to the station by a couple of detectives, a circumstance which made me fearful of being mistaken for a Cabinet Minister.

"Many of those who spoke to me were completely mystified at my having made my protest so early in the evening and so having missed the banquet!".

AFTER THE DISTURBANCES

Eight women were brought before the Birmingham Stipendiary Magistrate on Tuesday on various charges arising out of Mr. Asquith's visit on Monday night. Three were sent to prison for a month, and two for 21 days, on refusal to pay fines. One was discharged, another had her fine paid, and another was committed for trial.

When the prisoners who had refused to pay their fines were removed from the lock-up to the prison van for removal to Winson Green Gaol there was some disturbance created by the assembled onlookers. They were with difficulty got into the van, which was followed by a large crowd. On the way one of the prisoners broke the window of the van and shouted "Votes for women!". On their arrival at the prison the women announced their intention of hunger-striking.

MR. ASQUITH AND SUFFRAGE DEPUTATIONS

Referring to the refusal of Mr. Asquith to receive the Scottish deputation, the *Daily News and Leader* wrote in its leading article for July 19:

"We are, of course, sorry that the excellent deputation of Scottish bailies and councillors did not see Mr. Asquith, but they knew they would not; and if they had met as many Suffragist deputations as Mr. Asquith and repeated the same reply to them as often, they would sympathise with the Premier rather than blame him. They can hardly have supposed that their eloquence would convert him where so many before them have failed. Still, if they looked into the House of Commons their journey from Scotland was not wasted. There they would have found a real Scottish 'breeze'; and if it was some ado about nothing in particular, it would not have jarred with the music of their trip."

In a letter in answer to this, Mr. Pethick Lawrence points out that the impression that Mr. Asquith has received many woman suffrage deputations is erroneous. He continues: "During the whole period of seven and a half years in which the Liberal Government have been in office Mr. Asquith has only on four occasions received deputations of suffragists—once in his own constituency, once in 1908, when he met sixty Liberal M.P.s, once in 1910 when he met the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies and the Women Liberals, and once in 1911 when he saw a combined deputation of woman suffragists. Not only so, but since this last deputation in November, 1911, the situation has completely changed owing to the fact that the specific promise made by Mr. Asquith himself on that occasion has been rendered null and void, and an alternative, not accepted by any body of Suffragists, substituted in its place. Since that time Mr. Asquith has not listened to a statement of the position from any deputation of men or women, or made any attempt to reply to their questions."

Mr. Asquith's refusal, therefore, cannot be justified in the manner attempted by the *Daily News*.

ONLY A WOMAN

Ronald Dixon writes a reminiscence of the Newmarket by-election in the *Hull Topics and East Yorkshire Gazette*. A Hull Suffragette, he says, was quietly giving out leaflets and selling a Suffrage paper at a somewhat rowdy meeting. All at once "two men, electors and governors of our happy land, gathering up their courage from being twain, and resolving thus in numbers to do and dare what singly their bravery was not equal to, rushed at the lady, and, attacking her all unprepared, knocked her down. Then, daring greatly, like heroes, they kicked her. After that the brave ones rushed away to find other fields to conquer. They were voters and men; the cultured gentlemen in whose hands the governing of our land is solely placed. And their victim? What of her? Why bother? So they left her to be nearly trampled to death in the crowd. They left her to one of those inferior creatures, one of those incapable of voting, one of those who should have been at home washing up the dirty dishes her lord had left behind him when he went out for his evening to the public-house, or to smoke and spit and ogle the painted ladies of his fancy at the local music-hall or in the streets. Of course, they left the matter as usual to a woman to get them out of their difficulty. In this case, to a woman with a baby in her arms; she rescued their victim from the brave feet and helped her up.

"For days afterwards the injuries were felt and hurt. But again what of that? Surely all must be right in this best of all good worlds as long as man alone shall keep his vote and place, as long as he alone shall do as his own sweet will directs. Surely, too, all must be right and proper as long as woman shall be kept to her place, and that place is underfoot, without any real independence, without a vote. So, again, why bother of she gets hurt now and then or altogether? Especially if she dares to interfere in politics and the things that man cares about? If she gets hurt she deserves it. Let her fellow women help her if she comes to grief. Man cannot bother. The public-house and the music-hall call. They are the things. So man must away to them."

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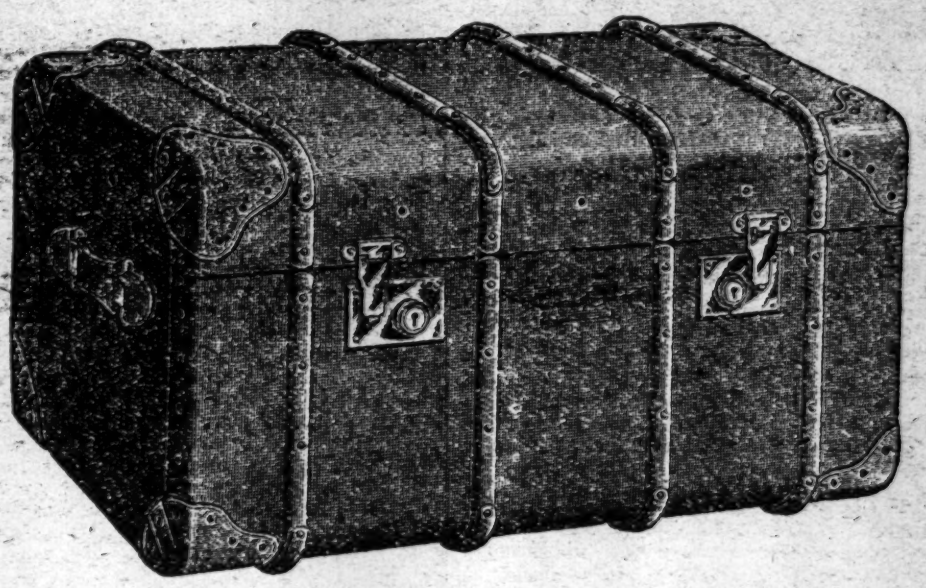

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81, 82, 83, 84, LEADENHALL ST., E.C.

RIVER SPEECH TO M.P.'s

There was an amusing incident on the terrace of the House of Commons on Tuesday evening. Shortly after five a river launch, Le Reine, containing four ladies and a crew of three men drew alongside the terrace, on which many members were walking or sitting. The women unfurled the banner of the Women's Freedom League, and two of them, mounting the wooden covering of the deck cabin, began to address the members. They quickly drew together a crowd, and a large number of ladies who were then on the terrace helped to make quite a large-sized meeting.

Members, hearing the unusual sound of a woman's voice raised in hot argument, flocked from smoke rooms and committee rooms, until two or three hundred were present. The House of Commons police tried to interfere, but as the launch kept some feet from the edge of the terrace they were powerless, and the river police were not in sight.

"You must go away," said a police-sergeant sternly to the captain of the boat. But the captain had his orders, and made no reply, merely smiling a cryptic smile.

A Twenty Minutes' Speech

Miss Nina Boyle proceeded to address the assembled company, putting a great deal into a twenty minutes' speech. She warmly upbraided them, telling them that they were quite ready to accept the help of women at election times, and yet when elected, just as ready to refuse women their rights.

"You think you are superior to us in every respect," she said. "You are lawyers and members of Parliament—and yet many of you cannot even speak the English language decently." (Loud and approving cheers from the members.)

"It is not merely women who suffer from our political slavery—men suffer also. Enslaved women cannot be the mothers of free men. Kick a nigger in South Africa and he will come and lick your boots. That is because his mother was a slave. Is that the spirit you want among the men and women of England? You cannot make proper laws without the women. You cannot maintain the respect for Parliament without the women. You have got yourselves into a ridiculous position—perfectly ridiculous. If you only knew how ridiculous you look and how ridiculous you really are, you would soon call in the women to help you." (Laughter and cheers.)

The members listened patiently. Mr. John Redmond watched the scene, and Mr. Devlin and Mr. Ponsonby and Mr. Outhwaite and Mr. Arthur Henderson and many other well-known members. Several times ladies on the terrace waved approving handkerchiefs to the orator on the boat. The members voted the speech and the "raid" a great success. "She's a better speaker than most of the members," remarked a Liberal M.P.

All the time the meeting had been going on, the House of Commons police were telephoning frantically to the river police to come in a boat. At last the police boat appeared on the other side of Westminster Bridge. At a signal from her companions the lady brought her fluent speech to a close. Another lady (who apparently was presiding) rose and said briefly, and with a bright smile, "Thank you very much for your attention and appreciative hearing. If it is necessary to complete your education we shall come back again." She then flung some leaflets among the members.

There was laughter among the members and among the occupants of the boat, and the members raised a loud cheer as the launch went swiftly away—much too quickly for the police boat that followed. When the police arrived half a minute after the affair they were ironically cheered. Their prey was out of reach, and they did not even attempt any pursuit.

TROUBLESOME SUFFRAGISTS

That small class of members which champions the militant women may be expected to catechise the Home Secretary on the abortive attempt to re-arrest Mrs. Pankhurst, which led to the apprehension of another person. Mr. McKenna has had his fill of trouble with the Suffragists in general, and the President of the W.S.P.U. in particular. His condition of mind is probably well expressed in the epigram which was current after Denman's ten-hour speech at the Bar of the House of Lords in defence of Queen Charlotte:

Most gracious Queen, we thee implore
To go away and sin no more,
Or, if that effort be too great,
To go away at any rate.

—Morning Post.

REGISTRATION OF NURSES

A striking example of the helplessness of women without the vote is provided by the failure of nurses to get the Bill providing for State registration carried through Parliament.

A representative of VOTES FOR WOMEN attended last Friday the meeting of the Society which exists for pressing forward this reform, and heard from the lips of speakers the same tale of the refusal of Cabinet Ministers to listen to the grievances of women who have no means to compel attention, that those who are fighting for the franchise are accustomed to hear.

Sir Victor Horsley showed conclusively that the Government did not realize the importance of this Bill, though it concerned not merely the nursing profession, but the well-being of the nation as a whole. He emphasised the fact that the public suffer directly from neglectful nursing if the standard of efficiency is not upheld by the State. The public, he said, were under the impression that the medical and nursing profession were at loggerheads over this question. This was a mistake. They were perfectly united on it. The society had advocated this measure for over twenty-five years, and it was absolutely necessary for the Government to pass this Bill. He then outlined suggestions by which further pressure might be brought to bear—deputations, petitions, and the like, coming in conclusion to the remedy of the enfranchisement of women.

Dr. Chapple spoke of the futility of a private member's Bill, and urged the Government to take up the question; if they refused to do so, it provided one more argument in favour of the view that voteless women could not secure redress.

Mrs. Bedford Fenwick, President of the Society, pointed out the difficulty of nurses, whose bread and butter depended on their not giving offence to the hospital committee, coming out into the open to sign petitions. She thought deputations might be of some value, and urged her audience to do what they could to induce the Press to be fair with regard to the subject.

Misapplication of Public Money

The following strong resolution was carried among others by the meeting:—

"The Society for the State Registration of Trained Nurses, in annual meeting assembled, desires to point out that the work in which the Central Hospital Council for London is actively engaged is its organised opposition to the State Registration of Trained Nurses, that nurses have themselves financed, for the last quarter of a century, the movement for their registration by the State, and that it is most unjust that hospital committees, which are opposing a reform unanimously recommended by a Select Committee of the House of Commons, and approved by the House of Lords, should take power to utilise the contributions of the charitable to support their reactionary policy, in connection with the education and status of trained nurses."

DRESSED AS A NURSE

The *British Journal of Nursing*, commenting on the Queenie Gerald case, says: "The interest in this case for nurses is that when the police raided the flat they were admitted by a woman dressed as a nurse, who was evidently in the employment of the procuress, and proves that nurses' uniform is used by women actively taking part in White Slave Traffic. This woman calls herself 'Nurse Betty,' and the police suppressed her real name, although we learn she says she is a midwife. We hope the Central Midwives Board will find out if she is 'certified,' as no doubt a knowledge of her craft can be usefully employed in connection with a place of ill-fame, in a manner calculated to bring her within the arm of the law."

WOMAN FACTORY INSPECTOR

The announcement that Miss Constance Smith has, by a Special Order in Council, been appointed a senior lady inspector of factories will attract attention, because of her connection with most of the societies having for their object the betterment of the industrial condition of women.

Miss Smith's work for the Christian Social Union Research committees, for the Industrial Law Committee, for the Women's Trade Union League, and for trade boards was acknowledged in 1912, when she was invited to become chairman of the industrial section of the National Union of Women Workers. As writer, public speaker, and committee woman, Miss Smith has shown herself possessed of sound common sense, a faculty of prompt decision, and accurate knowledge. She has specially studied the loss of life and health due to lead poisoning in the Potteries, and her appointment may be due to the undoubted desire of the Home Office officials to lessen the high mortality of potters in the earthenware industry.

WOMEN AND THE FEEBLE-MINDED

The desirability of the co-operation of women in caring for the mentally defective was discussed on Monday during the consideration of the Scottish Mental Deficiency Bill by the Scottish Grand Committee of the House of Commons.

Mr. Whyte moved that a district board of control should have power to co-opt women members, not exceeding in number one-third of the total membership of the Board.

Mr. Munro-Ferguson urged that the co-option of women should be made compulsory, contending that their presence on local bodies had been shown to make for economical administration.

Mr. Pringle thought the proposal to make it mandatory upon local authorities to co-opt women was thoroughly undemocratic. He hoped the Secretary for Scotland would not allow himself to be rushed off his feet by that wave of feminism. (Laughter.)

Mr. McKinnon Wood said he would be willing to accept an amendment providing that where any district board contained no women the board should co-opt not more than two women to be members, and to this proposal the Committee agreed without a division.

Our own view, expressed more than once, is that these Mental Deficiency Bills are very dangerous measures, and that it is necessary to enfranchise women before a satisfactory Bill can be produced. If, however, the Bills are to be carried in anything like their existing form, the presence of women on the boards will be of distinct advantage.

SUFFRAGISTS UNDER THE CAT AND MOUSE ACT

Name.	Sentenced.		Released.		Re-arrested.
Mrs. Pankhurst	April 3	.....	(1) April 12	.....	May 26
			(2) May 30	.....	June 14
			(3) June 16	.....	July 21
Miss Kenney	June 17	.....	(1) June 21	.....	July 2
			(2) July 5	.....	July 14
			(3) July 18	.....	—
Miss Kerr	"	.....	June 25	.....	—
Mrs. Sanders	"	.....	(1) June 23	.....	July 9
			(2) July 11	.....	—
Miss Barrett	"	.....	(1) June 21	.....	July 2
			(2) July 5	.....	July 17
			(3) July 21	.....	—
Miss Lake	"	.....	June 21	.....	July 2
Miss Lennox	"	.....	(1) "	.....	June 29
			(2) July 3	.....	—
Mr. Clayton	"	.....	June 23	.....	Missing
Mrs. Shaw	June 21	.....	June 27	.....	"
Mrs. Palmer (Irish)	May 26	.....	June 18	.....	—
Mrs. Ryan "	"	.....	"	.....	—
Miss Walsh "	"	.....	"	.....	—
Miss Thomson (Scotch)	May 19	.....	May 23	.....	Missing
Miss A. Scott "	"	.....	(1) May 24	.....	June 12
			(2) June 16	.....	Missing
Miss Hudson "	"	.....	May 25	.....	"
Mr. Franklin	March 8	.....	April 28	.....	"
Miss Stevenson	March 5	.....	April 29	.....	"
Miss Brady	April 12	.....	"	.....	"
Miss Dean	"	.....	"	.....	"
*Mrs. Baines	May 5	.....	(1) May 12	.....	July 10
			(2) July 20	.....	—
Miss Lenton	Com. for trial, June 9	..	June 17	.....	Missing
†Miss Marion	July 3	.....	(1) July 8	.....	July 12
			(2) July 17	.....	—
Miss Giveen	"	.....	July 10	.....	Missing
Miss Sylvia Pankhurst	July 8	.....	July 12	.....	—
*Miss Mary Richardson	"	.....	"	.....	July 17
Mrs. Mackworth	July 11	.....	July 16	.....	—
Mrs. Wyan	July 15	.....	July 18	.....	—
Mrs. Rigby	On Remand	.....	(1) July 16	.....	July 17
			(2) July 22	.....	—

* Arrested on another charge.

† Sentenced, on July 12, while out on licence, to three weeks.

W.S.P.U. FUNDS RETAINED BY THE POLICE

Application was made at the Bow Street Police Court on Thursday, in the name of Mrs. Pankhurst and on behalf of the Women's Social and Political Union, for a summons under the Police Act against the Assistant Commissioner of Police to show cause why he should not hand over to the Union certain money, cash, postal orders, and cheques, seized at the time of the police raid on Lincoln's Inn House on April 30. The applicant's solicitor stated that he had applied to the Assistant Commissioner to hand over the money, and had been told that the Assistant Commissioner could not do so without an order.

The magistrate granted the summons.

"A HUMAN LABEL"

Mrs. Rigby Committed for Trial

Mrs. Rigby appeared again on Thursday before the Stipendiary Magistrate at Liverpool, charged, on her own statement, with placing an explosive in the Liverpool Exchange on July 5. It will be recalled that Mrs. Rigby, when before the Court originally, confessed to having set fire to the bungalow of Sir William Lever at Rivington.

Since she was remanded a week ago, Mrs. Rigby had been hunger-striking, and in consequence of her reduced health she was released from Walton Gaol on Wednesday. When she appeared in Court on Thursday she looked very ill.

Mrs. Rigby said she surrendered herself to the police because she bungled the matter. "I forgot to put the suffragette label on the bomb," she said, "and after the explosion I posted it in a pillar-box near by. I have now presented myself to you as a human label."

"I wrote and told my husband that I was coming here, and I have called in and told Miss Jollie that I was coming here. She begged of me not to come, because no woman likes another woman going through that 'Cat and Mouse' thing. But I told her I had quite made up my mind. It is easy to live, and, of course, so easy to die if one wishes to."

The defendant, who was committed for trial, declined to make application for bail, and thanked the magistrate for his kindness the previous Thursday.

LIVERPOOL ROYAL VISIT INCIDENT

At Liverpool on Friday Miss Helen Jollie, the Liverpool secretary of the Women's Social and Political Union, was charged with breaking a plate-glass window.

It was stated that the Royal procession passed the Women's Social and Political Union offices last Friday, and the previous night the police screwed up the windows of the offices. Miss Jollie, as a protest, picked up a poker, and, going outside, smashed the nearest window.

Defendant pleaded not guilty, and charged the police with committing an illegal act by screwing up the windows.

The amount of the damage was reduced to £4 19s., and the stipendiary gave defendant an opportunity of paying this sum and being discharged. She refused, and was fined 1s. and the amount of the damage, or fourteen days in the second division. Defendant declared she would "hunger strike."

THE CASE OF MRS. WYAN

Mrs. Wyan, who was sentenced to 14 days' imprisonment for assaulting a police constable during the tumult that ensued on the attempt of the police to arrest Mrs. Pankhurst outside the Pavilion last week, has been released under the Cat and Mouse Act. She writes to us to point out that the charge on which she was sentenced on the evidence of a single constable was wholly untrue, as she neither assaulted nor made any attempt to assault the police.

MRS. PANKHURST

Graduates' Petition to the King

In response to a circular letter issued recently by the committee of the London Graduates' Union for Women's Suffrage a petition for presentation to the King has been signed by 474 teachers and graduates of the University of London praying for the pardon of Mrs. Pankhurst.

The petition points out that it is difficult to see how the continued release can be justified if it merely enables the prisoner to endure more suffering than would otherwise have been possible before she ultimately succumbs. It is submitted that if the authorities mean to desist, the time for desisting has been reached, for it is doubtful whether Mrs. Pankhurst can suffer more and live. The petition is drawn up in the same terms as that which a fortnight ago was presented by six prominent London teachers and graduates, Sir Edward Busk, Professor Caldecott, Professor Halliburton, Sir Victor Horsley, Professor Karl Pearson, and Mr. Sidney Webb, and is signed, among others, by R. W. Chambers, M.A., D.Lit. (Assistant Professor of English, and Librarian, University College, London); Alice Corthorn, M.B., B.S.; Helen Charlotte Isabella Gwynne-Vaughan, D.Sc., F.L.S. (Lecturer in Botany, Birkbeck College); Beatrice Harraden, B.A.; C. J. Martin, M.D., D.Sc. (Director of the Lister Institute of Preventive Medicine); and Adeline Roberts, M.D., B.S.

CORRESPONDENCE

THE SCOTT FUND

Dear Editors,—I want to call your attention to the £75,000 collected for the "Captain Scott Fund," about to be allocated by a committee headed by the name of the anti-Suffragist Lord Curzon. From the sum collected it is proposed to take £17,500 for scientific purposes, and I consider that, as regards science, the money will have been obtained under false pretences. Scientific needs leave the general public cold, and it can hardly be pretended that they would have subscribed such a sum for the purpose had they known at the time. Tender sympathy for the bereaved relatives, and that alone, in probably every case, called forth the generous contributions to the Scott Fund. Hoping that you can voice a protest against such a reduction from the Widows' and Orphans' Fund.—Yours, &c.,

LUCY DERRICK-SWINDELLS.

FROM A FELLOW

Dear Editors,—I thank you for your letter, also badge, received, and your advice as to how one can work for the Fellowship, and will act on it as far as I possibly can; but the time I can give is very little, I'm sorry to say, as I am in business from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m., besides the journey there and back, half an hour each way. I have already sold some VOTES FOR WOMEN at Piccadilly Circus last Thursday and Friday evening for an hour and a half each time, and will continue doing so each week, and also next Saturday. I am taking some out for the N.U. Demonstration in Hyde Park, and my friend will also take some, and we will do our best to get them placed, and sell as many as possible. We can both talk a little on Woman Suffrage, and are always ready to do so—I mean in a private way—for we are heart and soul in it. She will be joining your Fellowship shortly, I think, but her time, like mine, is fully taken up. I will do as well as I can with the "Record Card," and if it shows up rather empty, I cannot help it, I should have done my best.—Yours, &c.,

(Mrs.) DRUSILLA BULL.

BIASSED ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAW

As we have stated before (see VOTES FOR WOMEN, July 18), Mrs. Katherine Harvey, of Brackenhill, Bromley, Kent, is refusing on principle to comply with the regulations of the Insurance Act. She has also refused to pay taxes, and barricaded her house and grounds against the tax-collectors from May till December of last year, and again since May-day of this year.

On July 21 she appeared at the Court House, Bromley, before a fairly full Bench, summoned on ten counts in respect of her gardener, William David Asquith. When pleading guilty, Mrs. Harvey stated that she had no intention of paying. Many Suffragists are resisting the Insurance Act on the principle that they refuse to be governed without their consent, or to be taxed without representation. In this case Mrs. Harvey received the following sentence:—

	£	s.	d.
£1 fine on each count	10	0	0
Arrears of insurance amounting to	0	5	10
Court fees	4	10	0
"Special costs"	2	2	0
Total	16	17	10

These "special costs" were applied for by the solicitor for the Insurance Commissioners on the ground that no defence was attempted.

There have been other prosecutions under the Insurance Act in regard to persons who have not had a shadow of principle on which to base their objections to this Act, but not one of these persons has been treated with the same severity as this woman Suffragist—a few shillings being generally the extent of their fines. After this it is well to remember the pointed remarks recently made by Mr. Justice Rentoul in a criminal trial at the Old Bailey as to the "leniency" invariably meted out to women in criminal cases.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

The following incidents have been attributed by the Press to Suffragists during the week:—

Wednesday, July 16 (after we went to press).—Attempt to fire dressing-boxes and stands at Doncaster Rovers' Football Ground.

Explosion of letter addressed to Mr. John Dillon, M.P., at General Post Office, Dublin.

Thursday, July 17.—Home Office window broken by Cat and Mouse prisoner; arrested.

Saturday, July 19.—Fires in six letter-boxes at Birmingham.

Sunday, July 20.—A large unoccupied house at Selly Oak, Birmingham, destroyed by fire; Suffragist literature found.

Tuesday, July 22.—Large empty house at Perry Bar, Birmingham, gutted by fire.

NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE,

8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge

President: Mrs. Cecil Chapman

The last "At Home" of the season was held on Tuesday, July 15. Miss Eva Ward gave a most interesting address on the development of modern woman. This was retarded by restrictions which at Cambridge were found to a degree that was bound to have an injurious effect on the after life and career of many of its women students. Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck dealt with the position of woman in industry. With a fine courage, much appreciated by her audience, the speaker referred particularly to the Factory Inspectors' Report, which reveals certain cruel and almost unspeakably revolting conditions with which many working women have to contend.

A most enjoyable afternoon was spent last Sunday, when the N.C.S. entertained the Scottish Deputation of Bailies and Councillors at the new lecture room. The large gathering of members and friends present included Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett, Mr. Laurence Housman, and Miss Winifred Mayo, besides Mrs. Cecil Chapman, Mrs. Hartley, and other members of the Committee. After tea everybody went on to Hyde Park, where a meeting was held under the auspices of the Men's League for Woman Suffrage.

CHRISTMAS SALE. — This will be held in our large new room on December 2 and 3. Those responsible for its success have planned the arrangements on a much more extensive and ambitious scale than formerly. We therefore appeal most earnestly to every member and friend to begin at once to make pretty and useful articles for the various stalls, which have been allotted as follows:—

CLOTHING STALL.—Mrs. Cecil Chapman and Mrs. Hartley.

BRIC-A-BRAC. — Kensington Committee.

SOAP AND SCENT, &c.—Hampstead Committee.

TOYS AND BASKETS.—Dulwich Committee.

LITERATURE, CALENDARS.—Chelsea Committee.

FUTURE MEETINGS AND EVENTS

Saturday, 26th.—N.U.W.S.S. Procession. Members and friends of N.C.S. urged to join. Assemble Hampton's doorway, Trafalgar Square, 2.30 p.m., and march, without colours or banner, to Hyde Park.

Sunday, 27th.—Hyde Park, noon. Mrs. Kerr and Miss McGowan.

Monday, 28th.—Peckham, The Triangle, Rye Lane, 8 p.m. Miss McGowan, Miss Simeon.

Tuesday, 29th.—Putney, Werter Road, 8 p.m. Miss Simeon, Miss McGowan.

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

Actresses' Franchise League,
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Artists' Suffrage League,
259, King's Road, S.W.

Australian and New Zealand Voters Association,
9, Grafton Street, W.

Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.

Church League for Women's Suffrage,
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

Civil Service Suffrage Society,
19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.
48, Dover Street, W.

Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, St. James' Street, S.W.

Forward Cymric Suffrage Union.
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.

Free Church League for Women's Suffrage,
2, Holmbury View, Upper Clapton.

Friends' League for Women's Suffrage,
Mill Field, Street, Somerset.

Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.

International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.

Irish League for Woman Suffrage,
Emerson Club, 13, Buckingham Street, W.C.

Irishwomen's Franchise League,
Antient Concert Buildings, Gt. Brunswick St., Dublin.

Irishwomen's Reform League,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association.
163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,
23, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,
27, Donegall Place, Belfast.

Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.

London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage,
Chester Gate, Ealing.

Marchers' Qui Vive Corps,
60, West Street, Horsham.

Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage,
28, St. Paul's Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

Men's League for Woman Suffrage,
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement,
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Men's Society for Women's Rights,
25, Victoria Street, S.W.

Munster Women's Franchise League,
83, Grand Parade, Cork.

National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

National Political League,
Bank Buildings, 14, St. James' Street, S.W.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage,
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

People's Suffrage Federation
31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.

Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage,
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.

Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage
Sunwick, Berwickshire, N.B.

Spiritual Militancy League,
46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.

Suffrage Atelier
6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.

Suffrage Club.
3, York Street, St. James', S.W.

Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee,
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.

Votes for Women Fellowship,
4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Women Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage Society,
83, Sutherland Avenue, W.

Women's Freedom League.
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom,
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.

Women's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

Women's Tax Resistance League,
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

Women Teachers' Franchise Union,
27, Murillo Road, Lee, S.E.

Women Writers' Suffrage League,
Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

COMING EVENTS

At the Ethical Church, Queen's Road, Bayswater, a special service will be held on Sunday next (27th) at 7 p.m., in connection with the Suffrage Pilgrimage. Miss Maude Royden will speak on "The Pilgrim Spirit."

IN THE COURTS

Wednesday, July 16.—At the Marlborough Street Police Court, before Mr. Denman, charged with obstruction, Miss Margaret Forbes-Robertson; bound over in £5 for 6 months.

Thursday, July 17.—At Liverpool, charged with placing a bomb in basement of Liverpool Exchange, and with firing house of Sir W. Lever, M.P., Mrs. Rigby; committed for trial.

Friday, July 18.—At the Mansion House, before the Lord Mayor, charged with assaulting the police, Mr. J. M. Teague and Miss Mildred Marsden; the former fined 7s. 6d. and the latter discharged.

At the Bow Street Police Court, before Sir J. Dickinson, charged with breaking a Home Office window, Miss Mary Richardson (out on licence); sentenced to 14 days.

At Liverpool, charged with breaking a plate-glass window, Miss Helen Jollie. Given opportunity of paying £4 19s. damages and being discharged; refused, fined 1s. and damages or 14 days; fine not paid.

Tuesday, July 22.—At the Marlborough Street Police Court, before Mr. Denman, charged with assaulting the police, Mrs. Marshall and Mrs. Rogers; fined 20s. each or 14 days; fines not paid. Major Fisher, remanded on bail till Monday. Charged with causing obstruction: Miss Graham, discharged; Miss West and Miss Rock, bound over for 6 months, or 21 days' imprisonment; went to prison.

At Birmingham, charged with attempting to break a window, Miss Mary Hawkesley, discharged; charged with breaking windows, Miss Mary Gray and Miss Florence Ward, fined 40s., and £3 10s. damages each, or one month; Miss Louisa Shepherd, fined 40s. and £3 damages, or twenty-one days; and Miss Nellie Hall, fined 40s. and £3 17s. 6d. damages, or twenty-one days; these were not paid. Anonymous prisoner fined 5s. or 7 days, fine paid; and prisoner giving name of "Eliza" committed for trial, bail not allowed.

At Manchester, charged with firing empty railway carriage, Mr. Baines and Mr. G. W. Baines, Miss Wallwork (Mrs. Baines too ill), remanded on bail.

At Leeds, charged with firing a house, Miss May Denis (Miss Lenton) and Mr. Harry Johnson, Miss Denis not present, Mr. Johnson found guilty, sentence deferred.

SUFFRAGISTS IN PRISON

Name.	When Sentenced.	Length of Sentence.
Miss Louisa Gay	Jan. 9	3 months
Miss Jane Short	Feb. 22	6 "
Miss Margaret Macfarlane	Mar. 20	5 "
Miss Olive Hocken	April 4	4 "
Mr. Donald M'Ewan	May 19	9 "
Miss Lake	June 17	6 months
Mrs. Hawkins	July 2	1 month
Miss Annie Bell	July 15	21 days
Mr. R. Paige	"	1 month
Miss Helen Jollie	July 18	14 days
Miss Mary Richardson	July 8	3 months
	July 18	14 days
Mrs Pankhurst	April 3	3 years
Mrs. Marshall	July 22	14 days
Mrs. Rogers	"	"
Miss Rock	"	21 days
Miss West	"	"
Miss Mary Gray	July 22	1 month
Miss Florence Ward	"	"
Miss Louisa Shepherd	"	21 days
Miss Nellie Hall	"	"
"Eliza"	"	Com. for Trial
Mr. Harry Johnson	July 23	1 year

WHERE TO SHOP

Bedding Manufacturers
Shoolbred & Co.

Bootmakers
Benduble Shoe Co. — Peter Robinson
Derry & Toms — William Owen
Hannan-Gingell

Coal Merchants
W. Clarke & Sons

Corsetieres
Debenham's — Marshall & Snelgrove
Derry & Toms — New Mercedes
Dickins & Jones — Peter Robinson
Gorringe's — Regal Corset Parlor
Hayford's — William Owen
Jaeger's

Dentist
Chodwick Brown

Drapers
Debenham's — Marshall & Snelgrove
Derry & Toms — Peter Robinson
Dickins & Jones — Shoolbred's
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Debenham's — Marshall & Snelgrove
Derry & Toms — Peter Robinson's
Dickins & Jones — Shoolbred's
Gorringe's — Wm. Owen
Hayford's — Wolsey Hose
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Strand Imperial Hotel — Thackeray Hotel

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Goldsmiths and Silversmith's Co. — S. Sessel & Co.
Waring & Gillow

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Burberrys — Gorringe's
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Hillside Laundry — Sunnyside Laundry
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7.—To secure new members for the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship.
8.—To contribute to the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship Fund, for various purposes of development, including the display of posters.
9.—To extend by other methods of service the influence of the Fellowship and the circulation of the paper.

Objects.—To dispel the ignorance that exists in the mind of the public with regard to the "Votes for Women" agitation.

To tell the true story of the Movement, both in its constitutional and militant development, and also to show the causes that have produced and are still fomenting the present revolt.

To educate and arouse opinion throughout the country, and rally sympathy and support to the fighters in this campaign for human liberty; to stimulate strenuous opposition to the Government's policy of futile and wicked coercion, and to persuade all who love justice and liberty to bring pressure upon the King's ministers to carry out the spirit of the British Constitution, and to concede the just and reasonable demand of women to be included in the body politic.

Methods.—Active co-operation, by one or all of the various forms of service enumerated on the opposite page, with the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN, so that in fellowship of spirit and unity of purpose the common aim as stated above may be achieved.

The "Votes for Women" Fellowship is not a Suffrage Society, but an association of friends who desire to work together for the accomplishment of a very distinct and definite purpose. It does not compete in any way with any Suffrage organization. Membership is open to men and women who belong to any of the Suffrage societies, both militant and non-militant, and also to men and women who are not hitherto connected with the Suffrage movement or committed to any Suffrage party or policy. Commencing in 1914, there will be a minimum entrance fee of 1s., and also a minimum annual subscription of 1s., due in January of each year.

Just as the Fellowship itself does not compete with any existing organization, so VOTES FOR WOMEN does not compete with any existing Suffrage paper. It serves a different though complementary purpose. As a paper independent of all Suffrage societies, it addresses itself to the outside public, presents a catholic view of the Woman's Movement, and appeals to every class and section of the community. Its wide circulation must result in more recruits for the various battalions of the Suffrage army and a greater demand of the official publications of the great militant and non-militant Unions.

The Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN give their services to the paper without remuneration of any kind. That service is their contribution to the Suffrage Movement as a whole. They are pledged to devote any financial profits that may accrue to the further development of the paper.

Please enrol me as a member of the "Votes for Women" Fellowship.

Name .....

(Please state whether Mrs., Miss, or Esq., etc.)

Full Address .....

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